The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1900.

The Week.

Sufficient time has elapsed since the passage of the new currency bill by Congress to give some indication of the practical working of the bond-refunding scheme. This part of the act provides that the holders of any of the bonds maturing in or before 1908, which bear interest at 3, 4, and 5 per cent., may convert them into 2 per cent. bonds running thirty years. They may do this at any time before maturity. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay a certain cash bonus to the holders of the existing bonds to compensate them for the difference in interest. At first it seemed as though all or nearly all of the outstanding bonds would be converted in this manner for the purpose of being used as the basis of national banknote issues. But the plan has not proved so attractive as was expected. It seems now not likely to result in the conversion of all of the 5s of 1904 and 4s of 1907, nor even of the 3s redeemable in 1908. Assuming that all national banks now in existence convert all their bonds, say $250,000,000, new banks will take not more than $100,000,000, and probably much less; private investors or institutions would probably not convert more than $50,000,000. So far only $25,000,000 have come in from these. It would, therefore, appear that a total of not much more than $400,000,000 of new 2s will be refunded, leaving some $440,000,000 of 5s, 4s, and 3s outstanding available for redemption or purchase for the sinking-fund of the national debt. It will be a gratifying conclusion if there shall still remain a sufficient amount of these bonds to absorb the Treasury surplus without the necessity of paying large premiums through purchases in the open market.

A dispatch from Washington to a morning paper which has been an active supporter of the ship-subsidy bill, says that that measure, and also the Nicaraguan Canal bill, will be postponed till the next session of Congress "because it is generally admitted that there is such a radical difference of opinion that a vote would not be obtained at this session." The ultimate fate of the former measure cannot be now determined, but it is quite clear that the discussion on it has told powerfully against it, and that the amendments made to it from time to time have not helped it, but have rather served to expose its badness and thus to make Congressmen suspicious of it. Thus, the latest change in the bill, known as the "cargo amendment," simply emphasized the fact that, as originally drawn, it was a bill not so much to promote the export trade of the country, as to pay large sums of money as a bonus to a passenger steamship line for carrying American tourists out of the country. The cargo amendment drew attention to this circumstance, but did not alter the real purpose of the measure. By a cunning use of words it confirmed the original intent, while seeming to make it less objectionable. All these facts will appear in due time, and it is well for the Republican party that they should not be too prominent a feature of the campaign this year.

Senator Morgan has come out so sane on the subject of the Isthmian Canal treaty that he may be forgiven a multitude of previous sins. He is reported as saying on Thursday, in the debate in executive session, that the neutrality of the canal was the thing most to be desired by the United States, and that this was absolutely guaranteed by the treaty. If it were left to be defended by the United States in time of war, then the canal and its approaches would be the scene of hostilities in time of war, and its destruction would be invited. The only thing that the treaty prohibited was fortification of the canal, and this was one of the strongest features of the treaty. The fact was developed in the course of the debate in executive session, that the amendment to the treaty reported by Senator Davis cannot command a majority of the Senate, and that the whole question will go over to the next session, in order to keep it as much as possible out of the Presidential campaign. Such postponement will kill the treaty, unless the time for ratification is extended. Probably the platform adopted by the Nebraska Democratic convention has had some influence here. This contained a resolution in favor of the "immediate construction and fortification" of the Nicaraguan Canal, which is equivalent to the repudiation of both the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. It will not commend Mr. Bryan's candidacy to the conservative voters of the country.

Judging from the amendments already made in the House to the bill for the government of Hawaii, the final state of that measure will be highly unsatisfactory to the ruling classes in the islands. They may feel disposed to agree with Senator Morgan, that it would have been better for them to keep up their own government for a hundred years, rather than to take such a system as Congress has devised. Not only are future contracts for compulsory labor prohibited, but all contracts of this kind executed since August 12, 1898, are declared void, and no laws enforcing them are to be passed. No corporation shall hereafter own more than 1,000 acres of land, existing rights being respected. The Prohibitionists may be placated by the provision forbidding the Hawaiian Legislature to license liquor saloons, but this can hardly be regarded as settling the liquor problem. Such matters ought surely to be considered by the local Government, and not taken in charge by Congress. A change of much importance was made by giving the appointment of judges to the President instead of to the Governor. The dominant element in Hawaii preferred to have these offices in the control of the Governor, whom they expect to be of their number, and they will protest against the dispensation of such patronage at Washington; not without reason. Almost the only means left them of maintaining their supremacy is the requirement that no one shall vote who has not paid a poll-tax. With this requirement, and with the restriction of the suffrage to persons familiar either with the Hawaiian or the English language, it may not be impracticable for the present rulers to maintain their ascendancy.

Senator Foraker explained in advance, in the *North American Review*, the peculiar merit of the Porto Rican bill which passed the Senate on Tuesday of last week. He said it was very cleverly designed to "give rise" to "questions of unusual, far-reaching, and world-wide importance." What he meant was, of course, that the Supreme Court will at once have to take up the tangle and cut the knots, deciding whether such legislation is Constitutional. Mr. Foraker admitted that, as a general principle, it was not wise to "legislate for the purpose of raising questions," but in this particular case he thought that it was well to make an omnibus of the bill, and bundle as many and as bewildering legal questions into it as possible. Senator Foraker attempted in the debate an explanation of the President's "plain duty" flourish and retreat. Mr. McKinley did not mean plain duty "now," but at any time convenient; and what he urged was only "free access to our markets," which the bill substantially gives the Porto Ricans at once, and will entirely in two years. But the plain tale of the President's message puts Mr. Foraker down. Mr. McKinley told Congress in December that the "time is ripe"—which means now—for legislating for Porto Rico, and as one of the items of the pressing legislation, he said, "Our plain duty is to abolish *all* customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico." Those

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words, as Senator Proctor said, the American people have learned by heart, and no Senatorial sophistication can make them forget. Nor will they stoop, with Senator Spooner, to the pettifogging excuse that Gen. Miles's promise of full citizenship to the Porto Ricans was "not authorized." Was it ever disavowed?

The New York *Herald* has undertaken to ascertain the Constitutional status of the Porto Ricans in the most expeditious way possible. It entered into a contract with a certain Porto Rican, named Jorge Cruz, which was most carefully drawn, and beyond all question in violation of what is called the alien contract-labor law, in case the said Cruz was an alien immigrant. It admits of no doubt that he is an immigrant, in the sense of coming to this country for the purpose of carrying out his contract to labor here, and he was detained at Ellis Island, and ordered to be deported. The question to be determined was whether he was an alien or not, and his counsel applied to the Circuit Court of the United States for a writ of habeas corpus. This did not, however, suit the plans of the Administration, and Cruz was hurriedly permitted to remain in this country by the special edict of Secretary Gage. The position taken by him is that this is "an isolated case," and public interests will not be affected by allowing this particular individual to land, subject to future deportation. Moreover, this Porto Rican, Cruz, came without knowing that he was violating the law, "if he be here in violation of the law." Furthermore, he was not brought here in "good faith" as a contract laborer. Nevertheless, Secretary Gage intimates that, while the law will not be applied to Jorge Cruz, it will be applied to the New York *Herald*. Cruz was not guilty of coming here under a contract to labor, but the *Herald* was guilty of bringing him. Cruz may be an alien immigrant, Secretary Gage says, and the law is not to be applied to him, but the law against importing alien immigrants is to be applied to the *Herald*. That journal will have to defend itself as best it may against the charge of violating the law, by bringing in an alien immigrant who came in without violating the law, and who may not be an alien, after all. Meanwhile, it reports the intention of Cruz's counsel to sue the Immigration Commissioners for false imprisonment.

The labor unions will disapprove of Secretary Gage's decision to permit Porto Ricans to come to this country under contracts to perform labor. Mr. E. B. Whitney maintains, in a letter to the *Evening Post*, that aliens are persons owing allegiance to some other sovereign, while the Porto Ricans owe no allegiance except to the United States. The alien contract-labor laws do not exclude all contract laborers who are not citizens, but only those who are aliens or foreigners, which words are used synonymously. Hence Porto Rican laborers cannot be excluded, and, as all accounts agree that their country is overpopulated, we must be prepared for importation of them. The same reasoning would require the admission of the Filipinos, for it has been most earnestly maintained by the Imperialists that by our treaty with Spain we transferred their allegiance from that government to our own. The same authorities have dwelt impressively on the dangers of immigration from the Philippines as an argument against free trade with Porto Rico. Once admit that Porto Rico is a part of the United States, they said, and it will be impossible to hold that the Philippine Islands are not also, and then all the horrors of Asiatic immigration and competition will be upon us. But, under the wording of the contract-labor acts, all these horrors seem to be imminent.

One feature of the Pennsylvania Democratic platform differentiates it sharply from the one which Bryan himself caused to be adopted by the Democrats of Nebraska. The latter endorsed the Chicago deliverance of 1896 as a whole, and particularly its declaration for free coinage at 16 to 1, while the Pennsylvanian makes no reference to the platform of four years ago, and attempts a "straddle" on the silver question. "We reiterate our faith in the beneficent effects of bimetallism, gold and silver, the money of the Constitution," etc.—that is the way in which the Democratic managers of Pennsylvania would slide over the question whether they believe in the free coinage of silver, and, if so, at what ratio. Something of this sort would probably be accepted by many of the men who now run the Democratic party in New York. The more important question is whether such a sinking of the old issue will be regarded favorably in the South. The comments of the Democratic press in that section upon Bryan's Nebraska platform have shown that silver has lost much of its former hold upon the more intelligent element; but whether this change will be reflected in the attitude of Democratic State conventions remains to be seen.

The decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals in the Governorship case will be no surprise to lawyers. All the Democratic and two of the Republican judges held that the action of the Legislature, in exercising its Constitutional prerogative of deciding contested elections, was final. As the Constitution has committed this function to the Legislature, the Goebel law, which prescribed the manner in which the function should be discharged, was intrinsically a proper statute. That law provided that a board should be chosen from the members of the Legislature to try the contested election, and to give true judgment thereon according to the evidence. The decision of this board is not final, but is to be reported to the General Assembly, "and the General Assembly shall then determine such contest." The Legislature thus clearly acted within its jurisdiction in finding, after a trial conducted according to the terms of the statute, that Goebel was elected, however informal the final stages of the proceeding may have been on account of the intervention of the soldiery. It is a general rule that the courts will not set aside acts which the Legislature performs when they are within its jurisdiction. In this case the Legislature was performing a judicial function committed to it by the Constitution, and its action could no more be reviewed than that of the Court of Appeals itself. It must happen, from time to time, that even the highest courts commit error and sanction injustice; but it is impossible to devise remedies for such evils. The wisdom of separating the legislative from the judicial functions of government is emphasized by the result in this particular instance.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, supporting the Texas anti-monopoly law, may be in effect a blow to the Standard Oil Company, but it establishes no new principle concerning commerce between the States. The Waters-Pierce Oil Company, which is said to be a branch of the Standard, is a Missouri corporation, and, in accordance with the law of Texas, it secured a permit to carry on business in that State. In 1889, when the permit was obtained, an anti-Trust law had already been enacted in Texas, and the Waters-Pierce Company entered into restrictive agreements in violation of this statute. The penalty for such a disregard of law was a forfeiture of the permit to do business in the State, and the oil company appealed from this forfeiture, alleging, among other things, that its rights under the Constitution of the United States were impaired. The Supreme Court has dismissed the appeal, on the ground that a corporation is the creation of local law, and can have no legal existence beyond the limits of the sovereignty where created. The recognition of its existence in other States, and the enforcement of its contracts therein, depend purely upon the comity of those States. Hence any State may arbitrarily prohibit a foreign corporation from transacting business within its limits.

The Constitution, it is true, gives the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States, but it has long since been established that corporations are not citizens,

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and have not the rights which their personal members would have as citizens. The permit to this oil company was not a contract that could not be revoked, because the permit was granted subject to the act of 1889, which expressly provided for the forfeiture of the permits that it allowed. The State of Texas therefore exercised a well-established right in expelling this corporation from its limits. It is reported that independent companies will be organized to carry on the oil business in Texas, and that they will charge much higher prices for oil than those of the Standard Company. Probably they will, but it is to be presumed that the people of Texas prefer to pay higher prices for oil furnished by the owners of the Standard Oil Company as individuals, than for the same products when furnished by these men in their corporate capacity.

A fortuitous circumstance has enabled the New York Legislature to reduce the State tax rate for the ensuing year to 1.96, in place of 2.49 the previous year. This is the lowest rate since 1891, when another fortuitous circumstance reduced it to 1.38. In the latter case the Federal Government refunded to the State about $2,000,000, on account of the direct tax paid during the civil war. This sum was applied to the current expenses of that year. At the present time the fortuitous circumstance is the collateral-inheritance tax, which has received two or three windfalls (not to be expected to recur regularly), by means of which the proceeds from that source have been raised to the sum of $4,000,000, instead of $2,000,000, as in the previous year. This is very gratifying, and it will no doubt tell to the advantage of the Republican party, although that party did not cause the deaths of the rich men whose decease brought such large gains to the State treasury.

Prof. McGiffert's manly and honorable letter of withdrawal from the Presbyterian Church, rather than provoke a heresy trial by remaining and fighting for his rights, breathes the scholar's love of peace. As between a trial for heresy and quiet study, as a means of arriving at the truth, he cast his vote for the latter; and most sensible men will agree with him. His denomination is to be both congratulated and commiserated. It has got rid, for the time being, of a theological quarrel, but it also sees itself deprived of the services of one of its most learned and loyal sons. We have heard a competent authority say that Prof. McGiffert's history of the Apostolic Age, out of which all the trouble grew, was the most brilliant piece of scholarly work to be set down to the credit of an American theologian for two decades. What must be the inevitable effect on young men in Presbyterian seminaries when they see the fate of this conscientious historical investigator? Will it not be to make them think their denomination puts a premium upon either ignorance or hypocrisy? Presbyterian leaders dreaded the blow to their church involved in the threatened trial of Prof. McGiffert; his sorrowful and dignified withdrawal may prove to be a greater blow. A logical inference would be to cancel at once all the theological fellowships for the support of students in German universities; and to burn all books except the Westminster Confession, for the Turkish reason in the case of the Koran, that all books in agreement with it are superfluous, and all differing from it are wicked and dangerous. For a church traditionally boastful of its insistence upon an educated ministry thus to recoil from the real education of its ministers, is a melancholy thing. Presbyterian rejoicing over the avoidance of heresy proceedings in Prof. McGiffert's case is very like rejoicing over having poured out the baby with the bath, as the Germans say.

The popular opposition in Denmark to the sale of St. Thomas to the United States has drawn out a public statement from Georg Brandes, the well-known Danish scholar and critic. He is strongly against parting with the Danish West Indies, on the ground both of national dignity, and the good of the islanders. It would be a disgrace for Denmark, he writes, unless absolutely threatened with bankruptcy, and in desperate need of money, to sell for gold lands and people now under her rule. That the islands are an unprofitable possession is no real argument. Every nation has parts or provinces which add nothing to the general wealth; but that is a reason for cherishing and encouraging them, not for brutally turning them adrift. Brandes also took up briefly the assertion that a great nation like the United States would care for St. Thomas better than Denmark could. He drily remarked that there was no "certainty" that America would do so much more for the islanders. He was writing at the end of February. If he had been writing in the beginning of April, he might have pointed to American disregard of the wishes of Porto Rico as furnishing a "certainty" of directly the opposite sort.

Congress has deliberately adopted a body of laws and regulations concerning imports which are vexatious and burdensome. It has treated our importers as if they were smugglers, and assumed that the personal effects of every traveller were contraband. It has refused to accept the ordinary forms of invoices and valuations, and established the presumption that every importer is a perjurer. Brazil has now adopted the same policy. It has copied our consular regulations, and, when American merchants raise their voices in protest, they are quickly silenced by having their own regulations held up before them. If these regulations are to be defended at all, they must be defended through thick and thin. If they are properly adopted in this country, why are they not proper in Brazil? And if they are denounced by American merchants in Brazil as vexatious, obstructive, and onerous when established there, why do they deserve any different description when established here?

Many of the English newspapers, even the *Spectator*, are very bitter in their comments on the Delagoa Bay Railway award. The result, says the *Spectator*, is "another and a severe blow" to the "argument for arbitration." But why? Is arbitration only a less expensive way than war of making sure that you get all you think you ought to have? These grumblers have already forgotten the Venezuelan arbitration, over which they were particularly complacent only a little while ago. Venezuela thought *that* award a terrible blow to arbitration, but England laughed at her. A defeated suitor might as well go out and lament that his failure to win his cause was a severe blow to the argument for courts, and mutter vague threats about his intention to settle all disputes hereafter by private combat. Arbitration does not guarantee absolute justice. What it does guarantee is an escape from war, and that is so great a blessing as to warrant submission to a degree of injustice in the act, if injustice there be, or be fancied. As for a prejudice against England on the part of arbitrators, on the ground that she is rich and powerful, that certainly did not appear in the Venezuelan case, though it may exist. She is undeniably left richer than she would have been by war.

Absolutely no significance, of a political or international kind, can be attached to the attempt on the Prince of Wales's life in Brussels on April 2. Belgium has, of course, been bitterly anti-English all through the Boer war, and Dr. Leyds has made Brussels his headquarters. The Belgian newspapers, and the more inflammatory of the French which are read in Brussels, have said things which may have thrown the weak mind of the would-be assassin off its balance; but if such a crack-brained boy as he appears to be had not been set on by one cause, he would have been by another; so that the whole incident means little more than would the leap of a wild beast at the Prince. Royalty is now everywhere exposed to such dangers. As King Humbert nonchalantly said, at the time he himself was last fired at in the streets, "It is one of the risks of the trade."

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THE DEWEY CANDIDACY.

At any time from the 1st of May, 1898, to the 3d of October, 1899, Admiral Dewey was in a position to command a nomination to the office of President of the United States by either political party; and by simply holding his peace from that time onward he might equally have commanded an election at the polls. On the first of these dates the battle of Manila was fought. On the second the Admiral had his triumphal reception in New York. There had been no hero so popular, no idol so worshipped, since Gen. Grant received the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox. Nor was this idolatry based upon mere success in battle. It had a more respectable foundation in the belief that Dewey was a man without political ambition, but not without clear views and convictions concerning the war he was engaged in, and a high purpose to promote the best interests of his own country and of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. His dispatches were models of brevity, clearness, and modesty. His declaration, more than once repeated, that the Filipinos were better fitted for self-government than the Cubans, and that he spoke from knowledge of both, was hailed with joy by all who were opposed to the subjugation by arms of our late allies. In short, Admiral Dewey had exhibited those qualities of decorum, equipoise, and sterling sense in addition to those of the naval hero, which were well calculated to impress the reflecting portion of the community as well as to capture the imaginations of the unthinking. If he had not come home at all, but had pursued the even tenor of his way, a nomination for the Presidency, and perhaps more than one, would have pursued him to the other side of the globe. He was the terror of the machine politicians, and most especially of the McKinley machine, from the day of Manila until long after his return.

The first thing that opened people's eyes was the signing of the report of the Philippine Commission by Admiral Dewey just before the election of last autumn. This report was in open conflict with his previously expressed opinions as to the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government. It was accompanied by no explanation of his change of opinion. It left those who had admired his previous straightforward course, speechless with astonishment and regret. Nor has any explanation yet been offered, but the fact gradually leaked out that he signed the report without reading it, regardless of the fact that the public attached more importance to his share in it than to those of all the other members taken together. It is needless to say that the Anti-Imperialists had no further interest in Admiral Dewey when they found that he could not be depended on to stand firm for the opinions he had originally proclaimed. Until the signing of that report, he had the destiny of his country in his hands. He could have turned it, or rather have held it, true to the principles of self-government. He did not do so. What he did was not a conscious betrayal of principle: it was an act of thoughtlessness which proclaimed him unfit for grave national responsibilities.

The events of the past week have confirmed this view of his character. He has announced himself a candidate for a Presidential nomination. When asked which party he prefers and what principles he espouses, he replies that he is at the service of any party, and that it is not for the candidate to frame the party's platform, but to stand on it. The duties of the Presidential office, he thinks, are to execute the laws of Congress, and not to have a policy of his own. He recalls a President who announced that he had a policy, and who came to grief in consequence. He knows enough to avoid the example and the fate of Andrew Johnson. He ends by admitting that he is a Democrat.

The manner in which this announcement has been received by the people, has done much to reveal the true political sentiment of the country. The first feeling was that the frank, almost child-like sailor had, by the manner of his reference to the Presidency, cheapened a great office. But did he, after all, do anything more than express in words the theory of the Presidency on which Mr. McKinley has consistently acted? "It's easy enough to be President," said the naïf Admiral, after narrowly observing for some months the way in which the present Executive discharges his duties; "all you have to do, I see, is to take orders from Congress, and I have been obeying orders all my life." If Dewey cheapens the Presidency by his conception of it, he is only following the model now in the White House. It is but one more compliment to Mr. McKinley. Mr. Bryan puts the same ideal of the Presidency into his voluble promises to be nothing but the people's "hired man," if he is ever chosen President.

Our free-spoken Admiral has thus held up to the American people a sort of composite photograph of unfit candidates for the Presidency. In revealing his own inadequate estimate of the august office, he has uncovered the nakedness of the two chief competitors for it. "No sign of the decline of Prussia," wrote Seeley, when discussing the causes of her fall in 1806, "was more distinctly visible than the degeneracy of her public men." Our own peril in that regard is vividly before us in the miserable dilemma to which we seem to be shut up in the approaching Presidential election; and Admiral Dewey's sudden bursting into the field, as a new Richmond, shows us afresh into what a low estate the Presidency has fallen. The very disappointment and dejection with which his candidacy has been received suggest how joyfully the country would rise to a real leader, at this juncture; how delighted it would be to honor a man who would honor the Presidency.

We need to keep our minds clear in this matter. Dewey as a likely means of beating either Bryan or McKinley, or both, has been eagerly caught up by some excellent, but, as we think, shortsighted people. To beat Bryan or McKinley, or both, cannot be the chief end of an independent political movement. We must know whom we are getting in their stead, and what policies we are getting in the room of theirs. We cannot afford to defeat colorless and servile men by means of one even more negative and subservient than they. Jowett once said, "It is easy to get things done if you do not mind who does them." But we *must* mind who does them. For the end we have in view the instrument is all-important—the fit instrument, we may say, *is* the end. And it is because the main object just now is the restoration of the Presidency to its ancient and intended vigor and dignity; because what we want in the White House is a leader of men, not a tool of tools; because we desire not merely to beat Bryan and McKinley, but to banish their type altogether, that we cannot but regard as gratifying the coolness and regret which Admiral Dewey's aspirations have met from the country. A man is wanted more than ever—no crouching figure, stooping low to go under the bars which the politicians raise in front of men of large moral stature; but we sorrowfully perceive that the Admiral is not the man for the hour. His failure to come up to the requirements but heightens the popular eagerness to find the one who will.

What must be the qualities possessed by a man fit and able to come forward to put back the American Presidency on its old pedestal? Evidently, no mere hero will do. We are glad to believe that Americans now take their hero-worship more easily; that we shall not easily make again the mistake of supposing that a successful military commander will be a successful President. The military habit as such is a distinct handicap in the White House. No, it is civic training which the times now call for more loudly than ever in a man fitted to rescue us from our pitiful choice of evils. He must be, distinctly, an old American—not one of our heady new Americans, forgetful of the principles in which our institutions are rooted, and carried about by every wind of Imperialistic doctrine. He must be for sound money and a pure civil service. He must be a man of rugged, four-square build, able to resist the "ardor civium prava jubentium." If ex-Speaker Reed were a Presidential possibility, he would illustrate these necessary qualities. Even

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now, if he had it in his mind to put himself at the head of the dissatisfied, the disgusted, the independent voters of the country, we do not doubt that he would soon display formidable strength. At any rate, he would be a candidate for whom men could vote with respect both for themselves and for the office of President; and would at least meet that longing which we are convinced is widespread throughout the land, and which Admiral Dewey's entering the lists has but served to accentuate—a longing for a full-sized man in the Presidency, to restore it to the honorable position of an elder day.

REDUCTION OF WAR TAXES.

Congress is giving us day after day items in the swelling programme of Imperial outlay. On Thursday the naval appropriation bill was reported. It carries $61,000,000—the largest ever known. Three years ago the sum was but $34,000,000. The doubling cannot be charged to the war, or to temporary necessities in the Philippines, as may be alleged in the case of the army bill. It represents the cost of a boldly avowed Imperial policy. The new empire breaks down the old economy; and the navy for defence, for police purpose, for necessary representation of the flag in foreign waters, must give way to fleets challenging the supremacy of the seas. Germany and Japan are doubling their naval burdens, because, as they charge, America has the ambition to become a dominant naval power. What they charge, we admit. An aggressive policy requires an aggressive navy, and that is what Congress is called upon to furnish.

At the same time that expenses thus go leaping up, tax-reduction is given an official veto. Great as is the outlay, the taxes have more than met it, producing sums beyond all estimates. As Sir William Harcourt said of the unexpectedly fruitful English taxes, the most skilled financier does not foresee the immense returns which may be had in prosperous years, in a country where a silent and unperceived increase in wealth goes on. Taxes that would have driven our fathers to rebellion, we endure without murmuring, because our ability to pay has increased several fold. But even we do not like to see the tax-gatherer take more than the Government needs. A surplus of $100,000,000 fairly cries out for a remission of taxes. But Hanna knows how to spend that surplus where it will do the most good; and so it is discovered that tax-reduction is now quite impossible. It would be difficult to take off one tax instead of another; there would be long discussions; the whole tariff question might be reopened; besides, Hanna needs the money.

The reason assigned by Senator Allison why there is to be no legislation in abatement of taxes is that he desires an early adjournment of Congress. Of course, Mr. Allison speaks not merely for himself, but for the Steering Committee, of which he is the Chairman; and the Steering Committee is the organ of the Republican party in the Senate. Probably the desire for an early adjournment is coupled with a desire to avoid a quarrel with the brewers, who, if the question of reducing taxes actually comes before Congress, will insist that the extra dollar per barrel which was imposed on fermented liquors as a war tax shall now be removed. Probably the advocates of the ship-subsidy bill are apprehensive that a measure to reduce taxes would block the way for them and render it more difficult to reach a vote on their bill, besides reducing the revenue out of which the subsidies are to be paid. There are sufficient reasons of a partisan nature for postponing action at this time, but such reasons are not conclusive of the subject. The question is of immediate interest and will become pressing with the passage of time.

The tax bill now in operation was passed June 13, 1898. It was necessitated by the increased expenditures incurred in the war with Spain. Some addition to the revenue was needed in any event, since nobody could tell at that time whether the Dingley tariff would realize the expectations of its framers as a revenue measure or not. The embarrassments of the Treasury under the Cleveland Administration had been relieved only by borrowing. The last loan of $100,000,000 effected by Secretary Carlisle had furnished a surplus of gold to his successor of fifty or sixty millions, but the desired equilibrium of receipts and expenses had not been gained. Although the situation of the Treasury was admittedly precarious, nobody dared to propose an internal tax bill, to better the conditions, until the war with Spain loomed up. This furnished reasons enough and more than enough for the bill. It silenced opposition throughout the country, and enabled Congress to do what it had desired but was afraid to do previously.

The bill which was passed raised the tax on beer from one dollar per barrel to two dollars. It established license taxes on bankers and brokers, theatres, circuses, museums, and concert-halls, exhibitions, bowling-alleys, billiard and pool-rooms. It increased the taxes on tobacco, snuff, and cigars, and on the dealers in the same. It imposed stamp taxes on a great variety of legal instruments and on bank checks, bills of exchange, telegrams, express or freight receipts, bills of lading, warehouse receipts, stock transfers, bonds, debentures, and certificates of indebtedness, and on sales of produce or merchandise, or agreements for sale at any public exchange or board of trade; also on proprietary medicines, perfumery, and cosmetics. Most of these taxes had been in force during the civil war and a few years later, so that it was only necessary for Congress to go back to the legislation of that period to find sources of revenue ample to meet the existing emergency.

The financial results of this measure were even greater than had been anticipated. The internal revenue rose from $173,866,819 to $273,484,573, an increase of nearly one hundred millions in a single year. Even this did not represent the entire gain. The increase in the four months of the fiscal year 1900 was $10,000,000 over the corresponding period of 1899, showing that the machinery of the law had not got in operation fully in the first year. Probably the full year 1900 will show collections of $20,000,000 over those of 1899, although the Commissioner of Internal Revenue estimates the total for the year at only $285,000,000, an increase of $120,000,000.

Now, the outlet for surplus funds by the redemption of the public debt cannot be depended upon since the passage of the refunding act, which extends for thirty years the bonds that might otherwise be paid off within the next nine years. This, in our opinion, was an improvident act; but as it is an accomplished fact, it points to the necessity of reducing the revenue in order to avoid a dangerous gorge of money in the Treasury. A few bonds (the old extended 2s) may be paid off at any time, but the amount of those outstanding is only $25,000,000. The payment of the premium on the refunded bonds will absorb a large part of the present surplus, but a new surplus will accumulate behind it. Some bonds of the new issues may be bought in the open market, but the appearance of the Government as a buyer would send up the premium to a figure which would, perhaps, render large purchases dangerous in a political sense to the party in power.

The reasons for an immediate reduction of the surplus taxes are, first, that any unnecessary burden upon the taxpayers is unjust; second, that the withdrawal of money from the channels of commerce, and locking it up in the Treasury, tend to produce a financial crisis; and, third, that the accumulation of surplus revenue tends to extravagance in legislation and to corruption in public life. These reasons will soon force themselves upon the attention of the country, and will lead to an irresistible demand for tax reduction. The Republican party may stave off the consideration of the subject for the moment, but it cannot be long deferred.

MORALS OF A SESSION.

There has been for years past a growing feeling that annual sessions of the Legislature are not necessary or desirable in New York. All the other large States in the Union and most of the

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smaller ones find it both practicable and advantageous to get along with meetings of the law-makers only once in two years, and no good reason has appeared why New York should constitute an exception. Indeed, outside of the political class, sentiment in favor of introducing the biennial system has become very pronounced.

The feeling will be strengthened by the record of the session which has just closed. There were two reasons last fall for being reconciled to the idea that the Legislature must meet in January. One was in order that an immediate end might be put to the scandal of prize-fighting protected by law, and another that action might be taken which would prevent the danger that the Ramapo water job, which was checked with difficulty in 1899, might be rushed through during 1900. There were other things which it was desirable that the Legislature should do if it were to meet, but these were the only ones which made people glad that, through the maintenance of the annual system, it had to meet this year.

The character of the body which has just adjourned is best indicated by the fact that it required three months of time and the urgent pressure of public opinion to secure the passage of a bill repealing the license which had been given prize-fighting, with nearly five months more of grace before the repeal will take effect; and that all efforts to obtain the enactment of a law dealing radically with the Ramapo business have failed—the most that could be gained being the passage of a bill which will enable an honest Comptroller to veto any attempted steal. Some desirable measures on other subjects have been passed, notably a bill for the appointment of a commission to revise the charter of New York city, and a bill regarding the school system of this city which introduces much-needed reforms. Other reforms which should have been carried without opposition were defeated, particularly the bill to check that most demoralizing form of gambling among the poor known as playing policy. The great question of a thorough revision of the taxation system was taken up, only to be first muddled and then dropped. Altogether, there is little to which a candid member of the Legislature can "point with pride," and much of which he must feel ashamed.

The chief moral of the session is the demonstration of the fact that public-spirited service of the State by a man of convictions and independence has become more difficult than ever before. It is universally agreed that "the organization" of the dominant party has never been so powerful at the capitol as during the past three months, and never so open in the exercise of its control. Not only was the Speaker picked out by the Republican machine, and the committees made up for him, but Platt and his personal representative, Chairman Odell of the Republican State Committee, have not concealed the fact that they decided what bills should be passed, what amendments should be made, what measures should be defeated. The Comptroller of New York city, seeking the enactment of a much-needed law for the safeguarding of the treasury, was told that he need not bother about arguing with members of the Legislature, but should go straight to the man who owned the members, and he therefore asked Mr. Odell to put the thing through. Even the friends of projects which have no connection whatever with political interests of any sort, like the proposed State hospital for consumptives in the Adirondacks, have learned that it is Platt or his man who settles whether the necessary appropriation shall be made, and leading men of the medical profession the other day asked the Senator to say the word as dictator which would pass the bill.

A new Senate and a new Assembly are to be chosen next fall. It has just been made clear that, under existing conditions, *no man need aspire to nomination* as the candidate of either party who is not ready to become the slave of the organization of his party. In Indiana, in Iowa, in many other States, a man may get the nomination without owing it to any boss or machine, and he may serve out his term without any fear of being controlled by an outside power. In such States there are vigorous contests for the Speakership, and the successful candidate, in making the committee list, is no mere amanuensis. In such States, measures before the Legislature are favored and opposed by people who, in appealing to the law-makers, know that they are addressing free agents, who are weighing the force of their arguments and will be guided in their action by their decision upon these arguments. This is no longer possible in New York. Instead, there has been substituted a servitude of the Legislature to the machine which renders the position intolerable to a man of the right type. Men of that type still occasionally gain an election to the body, but they soon find that it is no place for them. There is to-day less inducement for such a man to desire membership in the Legislature than ever before in the history of the State, and the fact is one of evil omen to the commonwealth.

The most melancholy feature of the session is the fact that a Governor who was counted upon to assist in the restoration of legislative independence, has helped to rivet the shackles of the machine upon the public-spirited law-maker. Roosevelt has frankly recognized the control of the Senate and Assembly by the Republican organization; he has openly conferred with Platt and Odell when they decided what bills their creatures in the capitol should pass, and what ones they should block; he has given every young man serving his first term in either branch to understand that the system is right under which Comptroller Coler asks Odell to decide how that young man and his associates shall vote on a bill affecting the metropolis, and under which citizens interested in some public-spirited enterprise, like the hospital for consumptives, appeal to Platt to determine whether the money that is needed shall be appropriated or not. In like manner, he has proclaimed that nobody may aspire to an appointive office who does not yield allegiance to the machine, and thus closed what remained of the field for independence. This has been the greatest surprise of the session, and the most disagreeable.

IRELAND AND THE ROYAL VISIT.

DUBLIN, March 31, 1900.

The Queen's visit to Ireland has been made the occasion for many sermons by the English press addressed to Irishmen. We are reminded of the many "acts of atonement" that England has recently made for past misgovernment, and reproached for "the wild, ineradicable hatred which blinds us to the consideration that, without English good will, no further reforms are likely to be obtained." That is, we are cautioned that any display of discontent at this particular moment will be made an excuse for the refusal or postponement of legislation which is admittedly just and needful.

The one lesson Ireland has been taught by the Parliamentary and administrative record of this century is, that so-called reforms or changes have never been granted out of good will, but in answer to agitation, and only when agitation was accompanied with riot and outrage, or when the withholding of legislation became politically inconvenient. When Ireland is quiet she wants nothing; if unquiet, ungrateful, and disaffected, she deserves nothing. To describe Irish legislation during the past fifty or sixty years as an atonement for past misgovernment is absurd—most of the so-called remedial legislation has been belated and ineffective; what was given with one hand was taken away with the other, or nullified by administration.

Catholic emancipation is an illustration. Twenty years after the Catholic Relief Act, John Bright said they still

> "had everything Protestant—a Protestant clique dominant; a Protestant Viceroy to distribute places and emoluments amongst that Protestant clique; Protestant judges who have polluted the seats of justice; Protestant magistrates before whom the Catholic peasant could not hope for justice; not only Protestant but exterminating landlords; and, more than that, a Protestant soldiery who, at the beck and command of a Protestant priest, have butchered and killed a Catholic peasant in the presence of his widowed mother."

Protestant "ascendancy" has not yet wholly disappeared.

The system of land tenure has been the root cause of most misery, discontent, and

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disaffection. The Devon Commission in 1842 recommended some mild reforms: legislative effect was given to some of these in 1870. That Act was admittedly a failure, and in 1881 a revolutionary Land Act was passed to the principles of which the representatives both of landlords and of tenants objected. The land courts became a legal cockpit where landlords and tenants have wasted their time and substance ever since in litigation mainly due to the complications and obscurities of the Act. Over and over again we have been told that this, that, or the other Land Act was final; but since 1881 there have been about a dozen amending and extending Acts, while the Irish Land Question remains as unsettled as ever. Royal Commissions and Select Committees have recommended in vain the consolidation of this chaotic medley of laws into one consistent and intelligible Act, so that landlords and tenants might be able to discover their respective rights and duties. Atonement is still due for the evils inflicted by this intermittent, fitful, and unintelligible legislation.

Until 1885 the Irish Parliamentary franchise was different from and more restricted than in England, and it was only in 1899 that a broadened municipal franchise, promised by English statesmen for fifty years, was established, but accompanied by a Local Government Act so complex that the cost of local administration is already vastly increased. Why should Irishmen be grateful for delayed and belated reforms, for legislation which, even if it effects some improvement on the past, is not that which the great majority of the people ask for?

Administration of the law is quite as important as the laws themselves, and is entirely different from that in England. Judges and heads of departments in Ireland have been almost invariably selected for political reasons, usually by Governments hostile to the mass of the people, and are persons who, as a rule, are opposed to the principles of the newer laws they have to administer. They have drawn the fang teeth of Acts of Parliament, and shown an unusual astuteness in finding out ways to defeat the objects of the Legislature. Irish departments have no representative in Parliament, and so far are not amenable to public opinion. An English Chief Secretary, seldom long enough in office to understand his environment, answers almost all Irish questions, and is practically their sole representative, the supreme governor of the country.

Is not the most natural explanation of Irish discontent and disloyalty, not wild and ineradicable hatred of England, but the same discontent that showed itself in every English colony as long as their domestic affairs were administered from Downing Street instead of by themselves? With most Nationalists, Home Rule is but a means to an end, and that the better government of their country. "If any one ask me," said Burke, "what is a free government, I answer that for any practical purpose it is what the people think so, and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful, and competent judges of this matter." In domestic affairs, Irish members are invariably outvoted in Parliament by British members more profoundly ignorant of Irish than they are of colonial and Indian matters.

Looking at the existing state of affairs, I cannot see why the Irish people should feel any gratitude to England. The country is poor; squalor and misery abound; towns are decaying, villages disappearing; periodically, acute distress and famine recur; the population continues to diminish in numbers and in physical vigor. Irishmen have persistently maintained that the country is overtaxed for imperial purposes. A Royal Commission, comprising some of the most eminent English financial experts, confirmed what a few Irishmen knew and most believed, putting the amount of overtaxation at £3,000,000 a year—a mere trifle as regards the imperial revenue, but a very large sum in relation to the resources of Ireland. Parliament treats this finding with contempt, and the Government says if we do take this extra amount of taxes from, we spend it on, you. But how? "To the further demoralization of Ireland," say Lords Welby and Farrer, who reported that "one sure method of redressing the inequality shown to exist would be to put upon the Irish people the duty of levying their own taxes and of providing for their own expenditure"—*i. e.*, Home Rule. "Poor Ireland," said Lord Welby, "spends proportionately upon her internal administration far more than wealthy Britain or wealthy Belgium"—*i. e.*, the British Parliament spends more. Irish taxpayers must find the money, but have no control over the spending of it. Instances of how this money is spent are—in paying the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with 4,500,000 people, twice as much as the United States, with 60,000,000, pay their President; in spending as much on the police as Sweden spends on her army, and three times as much per head as England, with a greater proportion of crime, spends on her police.

Irish education is managed by the Imperial Parliament, and Ireland is the only civilized nation where compulsory education has not been in existence for generations. The methods and system of primary education are, according to the best authorities, the worst in Europe, out of date, and unsuited to equip the scholars with the practical knowledge necessary for the struggle of life. Protestant ascendancy destroyed or appropriated Catholic educational endowments and institutions. The spirit of ascendancy is still strong enough to prevent the creation of a university which Catholics will avail themselves of. "It is," said Matthew Arnold in 1879, "to treat Ireland still as a conquered country; there is nothing like it in Europe."

Private-bill legislation conducted at Westminster is so uncertain and costly that municipal and public improvement schemes are prevented or burdened with intolerable costs. The assessment for local taxation has remained practically unchanged for fifty years, and is unchangeable, causing grievous inequality of taxation. In the words of the Royal Commission on the housing of the working classes: "The poorest districts are said to be overtaxed, while the wealthier districts are undertaxed, and the local authorities have nothing to do with the matter."

It is not only in the larger matters that British administration in Ireland is overbearing and unsympathetic. It extends to the smallest details. Two recent occurrences will serve as illustrations: (1.) A local Board appointed as rate collector a woman who had efficiently acted as *locum tenens* during the illness of her father. The local Government Board, of which Chief Secretary Balfour is president, disallowed the appointment. Mr. T. W. Russell, a supporter of the Government, and Parliamentary Secretary of the English Local Government Board, interceded, and remonstrated with Mr. Balfour, pointing out that in England such an appointment would be permitted, and that it was the practice in England to consult and defer, if possible, to the wishes of the local rate-payers. The curt reply was, "Ireland is not England." (2.) Rural local authorities in England can establish public libraries, but cannot in Ireland. A bill for extending the Libraries Act being before the House of Lords, a Unionist peer moved a clause giving Irish rural ratepayers the same powers that exist in England. The Government refused to accept the clause, saying by their spokesman that "the classes proposed to be benefited had as great facilities in this respect as they required"—*i. e.*, none at all.

The Queen, and any member of her family, visiting Ireland as private persons would undoubtedly receive a hearty welcome. The present was announced to be a private visit at first, but it has unwisely been allowed to be made the occasion for snobbery, ascendancy, and unionism to trail their coats and challenge the mass of the people to tread on them. Every association, society, corporation, and municipal body is asked or expected to present some fulsome address, the terms of which must be approved of beforehand. Those who demur to such addresses or their terms are denounced as disloyal.

AN IRISH PROTESTANT.

PROGRESS IN THE FORUM.

ROME, March, 1900.

Since writing to you last June concerning the work of excavation then being carried on in the Forum, many more discoveries of varied interest and importance have been made. The explorations have been pushed from the church of Sant' Adriano at one end to Santa Francesca Romana at the other, and from the foot of the Palatine to, and partially over, the site of the Basilica Æmilia.

At the western end of the Forum, between the Rostra and the modern road, much dirt has been cleared away, so that the very early foundations of tufa blocks of the Temple of Concord can now be seen. Considering the softness of tufa, it is to be hoped that these foundations will not long be left exposed to the weather. The scanty remains of the so-called "House of Romulus" on the Palatine and the neighboring buildings have weathered away to such a degree since they were uncovered, some twenty or more years ago, that in a few decades they will, if left as they are now, entirely disappear. The requirements of students would be amply satisfied by photograph and accurately measured plans and elevations, and it will be a great pity if, when the work in the Forum is completed, the traces of republican Rome which Signor Boni has found are left to perish by exposure.

Besides showing the foundations of the Temple of Concord, the removal of the earth from this region has brought into prominence the curved structure behind the Rostra, and has given a new impulse to dis-

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cussions concerning it. This has usually been called the "Græcostasis," but there is no solid proof of the correctness of this designation. A new hypothesis has been suggested by Mr. O'Connor, one of the students of the American Archæological School. It is that this building is the Tribunal Aurelii mentioned several times by Cicero. Modern authorities disagree as to the character and position of this structure. Mr. O'Connor's arguments are these: Cicero's words, though not clearly defining the exact position of this *tribunal*, evidently indicate that it stood in about this spot; furthermore, the curved form, with steps inside, which the recent clearing up of the site has brought to light, is such as Cicero describes, for he says it was "like a theatre"; finally, the technique of the construction is suited to the end of the Republic when the *tribunal* was erected. It is not difficult to deceive one's self in archæological matters, but this suggestion seems well worth consideration.

This monument is not far from the Comitium where, late last spring, the *lapis niger* was found. The explorers have pushed their way carefully all about this "black stone," and have laid bare the pavement of the Comitium, even up to the walls of Sant' Adriano. This was made possible by the removal of the loop of the electric car line which ran past Sant' Adriano, and over the site of the Basilica Æmilia—a removal suggested in my earlier letter to you, and which turned out a simple thing to do. On the level of the Comitium little was found. Many mediæval graves in front of the church were cleared away, and some inscriptions interesting to scholars were turned up. On the original level of the Comitium or—to be, perhaps, more accurate—on the seemingly Republican level of the Comitium, were several bases, one of them set up by Maxentius, bearing this inscription: "Marti Invicto Patri et aeternae urbis suae conditoribus Dominus Noster Imp. Maxentius P [ius] F [elix] Invictus Aug." At some later time the name of Maxentius had been partially erased and the pedestal re-used. The finding of this base (though not absolutely *in situ*) on this level, which is practically the same as that of the "black stone," has given rise to several suppositions, of which those of Prof. Hülsen are apparently well founded.

The love of Maxentius for the city of Rome is well known. He strove as best he knew to reanimate the traditions of the city's old-time glory. What the statue represented that stood on the pedestal we cannot say. There is no good reason to suppose, as has been hastily suggested, that it was the famous Wolf. But as this base is on the level of Diocletian's Curia, and as the "black stone" is on practically the same level and oriented on the same lines as Diocletian's Curia, Prof. Hülsen suggests that all this region was put in order by Maxentius, and that the "black stone" is, as we see it, a restoration of the same Emperor. Before this view can be accepted as proved, the relation of the level of the monuments below the "black stone" and of the layer of sacrificial objects to the "black stone" itself will need to be explained. For the present, however, the explanation is very plausible.

One great difficulty met by Signor Boni all over the Forum has been caused by the drains and wells, ancient and mediæval, which have to be pumped out continually. Some of the ancient drains can be made to serve their original function, and in them, as also in the wells (of which latter some twenty have been explored), many valuable fragments have been found; but in the main they have been a hindrance to the work. One curious point in regard to the ancient wells is that at the bottom of them (I believe in every case) there is a layer of river gravel in which are many objects and bones of animals. As a similar layer of gravel and objects was found under the "black stone" surrounding the inscribed *cippus*, it seems likely that it had some sacred significance. The objects found in the ancient wells (those of Republican times) are, in the main, vases of rude make, styluses, bones, astragaloi, etc. For instance, in the dome-shaped cistern of the Regia were found some seventy styluses and a small writing tablet. It has been suggested that this underground chamber is the sacrarium of *Ops Consiva*, but that sacrarium was on certain occasions entered by the Pontifex Maximus and the Vestal Virgins, and we can scarcely imagine their being let down into this dark, damp vault. But if the sacrarium of *Ops Consiva* has not been discovered, it is probable that traces of an equally important sacrarium have been, and that the circular foundations in the centre of the floor of the Regia are of the shrine where were preserved the Sacred Spears of Mars.

When the digging about the Regia began, it was hoped that bits of the Fasti Consolari would be turned up. These hopes have been but partially satisfied. One fragment of the Fasti was found; not, however, in the Regia, but cut to serve as a threshold of a door belonging to a chamber of late date in the Basilica Æmilia. The fragment consists of two columns of names. On the left, those of the Tribuni Militum of the year 374 A.U.C.; on the right, those of the consuls of the years 422 and 423—one of those of the latter year, Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus, being created dictator *clavi figendi caussa*. The occasion of this ceremony is described by Livy (viii. 18), who says that in this year 423 there was an extraordinary number of deaths in the leading families of Rome. Some said they were due to pestilence, others that poison was the cause; and, this last opinion prevailing, 170 women were condemned for the crime. This was a prodigy quite sufficient to call for the election of a dictator *clavi figendi caussa*. Originally these nails, driven into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, had served as a calendar of the years, but with the lapse of time they were used only on very special occasions such as this of the year 423.

The results of the work on the Basilica Æmilia have been, comparatively speaking, very satisfactory. Considerable remains of the original building have been found and still more extensive traces of later reconstructions. Naturally, hardly anything of the superstructure has been left, but nothing was expected. The earlier remains consist of the foundations, and one base block of a corner pier of a colonnade running between Sant' Adriano and the Temple of Faustina; opposite the columns were solid spur walls connected with one main wall of the central space of the Basilica. These spur walls divided the space into small chambers. After the destruction of the original building, the site continued to be used; the walls were patched up, pavements of varied marbles (some of them still well preserved) were put down in the small chambers, and another colonnade erected, but in place of the large white marble shafts, much smaller, and consequently more numerous, shafts of granite were employed. It is not certain to what epoch this later construction belongs, but the style of the work suggests the time of Theodoric. This colonnade was originally (and probably in the reconstruction) matched by another on the northern side of the Basilica, which is still, however, under ground. What the two ends of the building were like is not certain.

Two results of the clearing of the Basilica are noteworthy. One of these is that the Argiletum, the street running north between the Curia and the Basilica, must have been very narrow. The other is, that, notwithstanding the well-meant attempts that continue to be made to reconcile with existing facts the well-known drawings by various Renaissance architects of Roman-Doric remains found near Sant' Adriano in the sixteenth century, the exact relation of these drawings to the buildings in this part of the Forum is by no means clear. It seems more than likely that the architects did not know enough archæology to interpret what they saw correctly, and that their drawings are more or less works of imagination.

Many sculptured and inscribed fragments were found in and about the Basilica, but only a few of them were of much interest. In the sewer which, after coming from the upper stretches of the Sacra Via, passes in front of the Basilica Æmilia, were lying, among many other pieces of architecture or sculpture, two fine slabs of the early Empire. They are about 4x2½ feet, carved with acanthus scrolls, from each centre of which springs a lion, horse, panther, or other animal. They were originally probably used to decorate some wall as similar slabs are used in the portico of the Pantheon, but whether they were part of the decoration of the Basilica or not cannot be told with certainty. One fine bit that did, with little doubt, belong to the Basilica, is a fragment of a metope decorated with a patera. The style of the cutting resembles that of the boucranion found last spring, so that it is probable that they both belong to the same epoch of the building's history. Another very beautiful bit of decorative sculpture found close to the same spot is a fragment, about six feet high, of a rectangular pillar, all four sides carved with foliate designs of which the low relief and the strong but delicate modelling point to the Augustan age. It is to the Augustan age, also, that the most interesting of the inscriptions found here belongs. It reads: "L[ucio] Caesari Augusti F[ilio] Divi N[epoti] Principi Juventutis Co[n]s[uli] desig[nato] cum esset ann[os] nat[us] XIIII Aug[uri] senatus." In the "Res Gestæ" of Augustus there is a reference to the adoption of Lucius by the Emperor and to the honors granted him, and to this event the inscription, of course, refers.

In one of the chambers of the Basilica was found a hoard of late bronze coins, but oxidized so much as to be of but little value. Another much more interesting hoard, consisting of 397 *aurii*, all but one of the fifth century, was discovered in the House of the Vestals. This find added another item to the long list of evidence showing the extremely casual manner in which the earlier excavations of the Forum were conducted. When the work reached this part of the Forum, the House of the Vestals was pro-

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perly examined. This brought to light, among other things, a brick pavement in the atrium earlier than the mosaic one now visible, and two elaborate pavements of *opus sectile* in the chambers at the southeast corner of the building. In the wall of one of these chambers Signor Boni noticed the traces of an arched opening that had been blocked up. Having cleared this opening, a narrow passage was disclosed leading in the direction of the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice. In this passage were the coins. Three hundred and forty-five of them were of the reign of Anthemius (486-472), ten were of his wife Euphemia, and twenty-four of Leo I., who was from 457-474 Emperor of the Eastern Empire. As all the coins were very fresh it is not unlikely that they were hidden in the year 472, when, in July, Ricimer, with his army of northern barbarians, besieged and sacked the city.

The cleaning up of the Domus Publica has been completed, but with no result of much importance. The finding of the fine polygonal pavement of the Sacred Way in front of the Basilica of Constantine was mentioned in my last letter. Signor Boni pushed his explorations in search of this polygonal pavement still further East, past enormous foundations of the Porticus Margaritaria, and found that, where the road turned towards the Arch of Titus, there were also pavings which indicated that originally the road had run straight towards the Colosseum. Obtaining permission to dig beneath the nave of the Church of S. Francesca Romana, he found the remains of the pavement there. This shows conclusively the original line of this portion of the Sacred Way.

Signor Boni's removal of the late and poor (though broad) pavement in front of the Basilica of Constantine raised the question of the advisability of removing one archæological stratum to search for another, and it was argued with some fervor. As usual, the fervor blinded the eyes of some of the disputants to the real point at issue. The real question is: If the Forum is to be explored at all, is search to be made for the remains of the city as she grew and developed, or of the dying and degenerate city? If it is to be made for the former, this does not mean that the latter should be heedlessly disregarded, but merely that, where the two conflict, the interests of the later remains must give way to those of the earlier epoch. Furthermore, greater care than has sometimes been shown in the Forum must be taken to distinguish between a real archæological stratum and a stratum made by the workmen in the course of their labor. In the case of the road in front of Constantine's Basilica, there was no question at all as to what ought to be done. The rough, ill-laid blocks that hid the polygonal pavings were of no particular date, as was shown by the fact that the deep wheel ruts in many of them were at all angles one to another—that is, they had been again and again reset. Prof. Lanciani has questioned (in the London *Times* of February 23) the accuracy of my statement that this late road had nothing to do with the Sacred Way, and maintains that it was the Sacred Way of the time of Maxentius. If one choose, one may, of course, call this late road the Sacred Way. It is merely a matter of sentiment and historical accuracy. But it seems to be certain that Maxentius had nothing to do with it. The proofs of this are that the pavings adjoined the walls of the Basilica at a level and in a manner which show that the road was a much later construction than the Basilica; that some feet below the paving were found fragments of the porphyry columns of the south portico of the Basilica, which did not form part of the Basilica as first built; that bits of carving of the style of the ninth century were found below them; that a well containing other mediæval fragments was found, the mouth of which was covered by these pavings; and that finally a coin of one of the Della Rovere Popes was found beneath them. This road had surely never been sanctified by the tread of Maxentian feet.

The work in the Forum is by no means completed, but what remains to be done is chiefly finishing what had been already started. The most important undertaking now under way is the clearing of the site of the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice. The building has been torn down, and hopes are entertained of finding interesting remains of the earlier churches that stood on this spot, or of getting some light on the classic topography of this corner where Palatine and Forum joined. As a whole, the work has been so successful that it is to be hoped it may encourage the Government to go on in other parts of Rome and elsewhere in Italy.

RICHARD NORTON.

Correspondence.

FILIPINO CAPACITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The possibility of Filipino competition is causing many people in this country grief and alarm; some of them are endeavoring to arouse the laboring classes to a sense of their impending ruin. But when the *Nation* is found gravely quoting from ex-Governor Boutwell's speech, to the effect that, "They (the Filipinos) can manage a bank or run a laundry with a certainty of success that cannot be foretold of any other people, whether English or American or Hebrew," an ex-soldier feels tempted to rub his eyes and wonder where these commercial paladins concealed themselves during his sojourn in their midst. The army of occupation must have been "dreaming dreams," as Mr. Dooley has it; how else could they have failed to detect the business instinct of the banana-vender, the amazing thrift and industry of the Tagalo farmer, the migratory habits which lead the ambitious to compete with Asiatics in the labor markets of the world?

Under the influence of this distorting dream, many time-expired soldiers have returned to the States with the impression that the able-bodied workers, the trusted confidential clerks and bank-tellers, were Chinese; the merchants and planters Spanish, English, or German; leaving to the natives undisputed sway in the hack-driving business and similar intellectual pursuits. The Filipino orchestra at the "Alhambra" excited admiration, it is true, but rather by their agility in shinning up a perpendicular ladder to the band-stand than through the exhibition of qualities likely to cause dismay at some future date to the Kneisel Quartet. The remark of the cotton factory's superintendent in regard to the greater adaptability of Filipino operators has a familiar ring—one seems to have heard it before; home industries were duly warned of impending paralysis as a result of Japanese bicycles, of pianos constructed by coolie hands in Hong Kong, and yet our manufacturers continue to ship their pianos and bicycles to the very same markets from which they should logically be excluded.

No, the cheap-labor bugaboo will not serve—other means of terrifying the voter must be found; for any one who believes that Orientals can compete with the skilled American mechanic or artisan, working shorter hours and at vastly higher wages, is either ignorant of recent experiments or else a victim of self-deception.

ARTHUR HUGH FRAZIER,
Late of U. S. Vol. Signal Corps.

UNIVERSITY PARK, SOUTH BETHLEHEM, PA.,
April 1, 1900.

THE PARCELS POST STAMP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It might be well at this time to call attention to one of the most vexatious of the present stamp-taxes. I get rather frequently books from Germany by the new parcels post. They send me a notice from the office that a parcel is there. I go down and am sent from the stamp room up to the internal-revenue rooms. I must there sign a request for permission to purchase a stamp. If it is after four o'clock I am requested to come again the next day. So two or three days elapse often, as I am a fairly busy and hardworking person, before I can get my parcel of books. It is vexatious, very, but if Secretary Gage and the express companies will have it so, what is a poor user of books to do?

Respectfully, EDWIN W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN, TEXAS,
April 2, 1900.

THE BRIDE'S MIRROR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I ask you to correct two misapprehensions in the mind of the gentleman who has reviewed my edition of 'The Bride's Mirror' for your paper?

(1) I have *not* stated in my introduction, or elsewhere, that the Hindustani "ek" is derived from the Persian "yak." And (2) so far from *asserting* as a "fact" that all words must originally have begun with consonants, I have *argued* that it is a mere matter of convenience whether a consonant is pronounced with a vowel before it or after it, and have drawn attention to the large number of words which begin with pure vowels.

The one *fact* which I do insist upon in my introduction is that, whether rightly or wrongly, the Oriental notions of phonology are exactly contrary to those held in England. This may be *unfortunate*, but, as it is the fact, it is well to make the best of it. —Believe me, yours faithfully,

G. E. WARD.

22 WARRIOR SQUARE, ST. LEONARD'S, LONDON,
March 20, 1900.

[Our criticism was based on the following statements found in Mr. Ward's introduction: "It seems probable, then, that the majority of the numerous short vowel sounds which now exist have been created out of consonants which had lost their specific *quantity*, and retained only a minimum degree of *quality*" (p. xxv.). "It is questionable whether a

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pure vowel sound (or *tone*) has ever been produced by the human voice without some *noise* of the nature of a consonant, both at its commencement and its close" (p. xxi.). As to *yak* becoming *ek*, Mr. Ward cites this change (p. xxv.) as an example of "the first step in the process by which a consonant becomes a vowel," whereas, whether Persian or Hindustani (as we understood) *ek* was intended, the vowel was the original initial sound. Mr. Ward's explanation of "words which begin with pure vowels" is that every such vowel must be "pronounced with the final consonant of the preceding word" (p. xx.), which virtually denies the existence of pure initial vowels. Nor do we find that the native system thus adopted is regarded as a mere "convenience." On the contrary, it is represented as the correct view, "in spite of the rule in English grammars" (p. xx.).—Ed. Nation.]

'THE HEART OF ASIA.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I was much impressed by the thoroughness, combined with sympathy, which characterizes your notice of the 'Heart of Asia.' A man of letters alone can appreciate the labor entailed by such a work, and it is indeed rare to find one who is not more anxious to display his own erudition than to do justice to his author. Your reviewer belongs to that limited class; and, though I have had no reason to complain of the reception accorded to the book by the English press, I cannot refrain from sighing—*Si sic omnes!* My collaborator, Prof. Denison Ross, is now in Spain, but I have a letter from him, in which he says truly that the notice which appeared in the *Nation* of March 1 is the most scholarly we have had. He offers at the same time some remarks on the criticisms of your reviewer.

"When referring," he writes, "to 'Omar Khayyām, Nizām-ul-Mulk, and the Old Man of the Mountain as schoolfellows, I had no wish to embark on a controversy. Mine was a mere *obiter dictum*, a passing reference to a very familiar tale. I am about to publish a life of 'Omar Khayyām from original sources, in which the legend is entirely discarded." On the rendering of *hijra*, he adds: "I have no authority for my translation of this word beyond the meaning of the root *hajar*—(1) *se separavit ab aliquo amicitiam abrumpens*, (2) *reliquit, deseruit rem.* Hence *hijra—alienatio, discessus, migratio.* The rendering given by me is, at least, not Persian."

The other technical corrections are accepted by Prof. Ross with gratitude, and will be acknowledged in a second edition, should one be undertaken.

Now a few words as to the criticisms of that portion of the 'Heart of Asia' for which I am directly responsible. The syllogism deduced from my remarks that all powerful republics embark on a career of conquest, and that the process is an anachronism in the case of a highly civilized community, is ingenious, but scarcely fair. The "judgments," as logicians would say, are entirely unconnected. The general truth of each, considered separately, can hardly be disputed, but logic is one thing and politics quite another. Nations are impelled to fulfil their destiny by the inexorable force of circumstances, and calm reason has as much to do with their evolution as it has with the genesis of earthquakes.

The first sentence on p. 388, writes your reviewer, is unintelligible. In point of fact it sums up my Indian experience, passed among an agricultural people. I there observed that the constant growth of a population glued to the soil led to the latter's productive powers being overtaxed. The land had no rest, and, as the cattle were half starved in the absence of grazing-grounds, efficient manuring was impossible. Hence crop results are progressively poorer in areas unreached by the life-giving silt of the great rivers; prices are ever on the upward grade, and the spectre of famine is ever present. I remarked a couple of years ago, in an article in *Harper's Magazine*, called "Side Lights on Indian Politics," that India was destined to give the world an object-lesson as to the truth of the famous theory of Malthus on a scale undreamt of by that amiable philosopher. It might be added that the same peril will dog the footsteps of your own great country in her efforts to civilize Cuba and the Philippines. A kindred process is at work in Central Asia. It looms huge enough on the map, and the population is comparatively insignificant; but then it is habitable only in the very limited tracts where irrigation is available.

I trust that you will find room for these remarks, and, thanking you in the names of my absent colleague and myself for your generous appreciation, I am, sir, your most obedient servant, Francis H. Skrine.

19 The Grove, Roltons, London, S. W., March 26, 1900.

THE DECLINE IN TEACHING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The central thought expressed in your editorial on the "Decline of Teaching" is of special interest to every college teacher. That specialization and the book-making craze, so common in colleges, have in many cases a deteriorating effect upon teaching power (as manifested in Mark Hopkins and others) the careful observer will readily admit. But the evil lies, not so much in specialization, as in the selfish nature of the man. In too many cases, his own needs and interests are made paramount to everything else; studies and instruction are regulated according to the problems to be solved, and not the needs of the pupil. To determine whether college teaching, on the whole, has declined, one must consider many changes and balance the gain with the loss. What were the conditions under which Plato, Abelard, Hopkins, and others made for themselves a school of followers? Pupils are coming to rely more and more upon the resources of libraries and individual study.

But it is the statement in Mr. Whitton's letter that "the decline of teaching is found in elementary schools" which should not pass unchallenged. However much we may urge reform and criticise certain tendencies in our elementary schools, every careful student of our common schools must confess that they are accomplishing more in every possible line than ever before. Let any one study the school work of a great city and compare it, point by point, with what was accomplished ten or fifteen years ago, and he will find that the present is almost immeasurably superior to the past. A few weeks ago hundreds of superintendents saw in Chicago results, not only in all the various lines of intellectual work, but also in government and discipline, that less than ten years ago would have been considered impossible. The careful observer of modern developments realizes the almost inestimable value of our recent progress in teaching music and drawing, and it is no exaggeration to say that child-study has been a great factor in producing changes in the latter, as well as in numerous other lines of substantial improvement. In technical knowledge, in professional skill, in loftiness of aim, in devotion to work, our primary teachers were never so well equipped. They have not lost sight of the fundamentals. In its development any science must deal with details; but it is chiefly the developer of the science who reckons with these—the average teacher carries nothing of the kind into the school-room. In Denver, the "mechanics of teaching" was never at a lower ebb than to-day. Talent is constantly increasing in two much-needed fields of education, superintendency and elementary teaching.

It is rather strange that Mr. Whitton attributes the decline of elementary teaching to professional studies, and yet holds up German schools as a model. No country in the world requires such a professional preparation for teaching. A study of the schools of four large cities convinces me that to maintain that elementary teaching has declined and is declining, is simply unjustified pessimism.

D. E. Phillips.

University of Denver.

HE, SHE, IT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I was struck by the recent letter in the *Nation* commenting on the inconvenience of having no third personal pronoun singular of common gender. In the part of the world where I was brought up, it is customary for all except grammatical purists to use "they," with its cases "their" and "them," in this sense. "They" is preferable to "it" because 'it' implies the negation of personality.—Yours truly, H. W. B. M.

ON TO OR ONTO.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Concerning the age of this expression, as likewise concerning the extent of its currency, very little is to be learned from the dictionaries. And not only so, but, here and there, the treatment of it by their compilers betokens something like sheer illiterature. As a specimen, Mr. John S. Farmer, in his *Americanisms*, published in 1889, while considering it as entitled to a place in his work, pronounces it to be "obsolete in England." On the contrary, it is everywhere in use there, and scarcely, if at all, less among the educated than among the uneducated.

Six centuries ago, if not considerably earlier, *u*, initial or otherwise, began to be corrupted into *o;* and numerous instances of this corruption are seen at a later period, especially in the Kentish and East Anglican dialects. In the part of England where I write, to go no farther, we find, already in the days of Henry VI., instead of *unto, onto,* which, when a preposition, had, among its

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senses, the one here adverted to. Evidence of this is afforded by the following passages from Capgrave, the last of them being of uncertain date:

"Than felle he down *onto* the erde, and reverently worchipid that site." *Chronicle of England* (about 1460), p. 58 (1858).

"And that cuntre is passing ful of drye sand; and the Saracenes went up *onto* a hille, and reised the sand, for to blynde the Cristen men." *Ibid.*, p. 160.

"He sangh the aungelles hough thei hir body bere Fer up *onto* Synay, and leyde it down there." *Life of Saint Katharine*, *ibid.*, p 347.

That *onto* seldom appears in literature between the fifteenth century and the nineteenth is by no means to be inferred from the paucity of the authorites for it, in that interval, about to be adduced. My notes on words, upwards of a million, are many more than I have had time to arrange alphabetically, or in any way. Other researchers, however, will doubtless discover materials for bridging over the yawning gaps observable in the annexed series of quotations:

"I haue stept *on to* the stage amongst the reste contented to plaie a part." Barnabe Riche, *Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581), p. 7 (ed. 1846).

"I'll make you come on the publick-stage (now that I have got you *on to* my own ground) as often as I list." Rev. Edmund Hickeringill (about 1681), *Works* (1716), vol. i., p. 367.

"Sir Edmund then took it [his coat] and threw it *on to* the Window." Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Brief History of the Times*, Part iii. (1688), p. 302.

"He has stuck himself *on to* a Man of Sense." Sarah Fielding, *Adventures of David Simple* (1744, 2nd ed.), vol. i., p. 160.

"Mr. Suard tumbled *on to* the sopha directly, Mr. Thrale *on to* a chair." Charlotte Anne Burney (1777 or 1778), in *Frances Burney's Early Diary* (1889), vol. ii., p. 287.

"It was a library, opening, through a greenhouse, *on to* a lawn." *Lusignan* (1801), vol. iii., p. 155.

"He furiously burst open the door, and issued *on to* the platform." *Edwin* (1803), vol. ii., p. 224. Also vol. ii., p. 144, and vol. iii., p. 21.

"He darted through the casement *on to* the roof." Trans. of La Marteliere's *Three Gil Blas* (1804), vol. ii., p. 56.

"I will . . . tie you *on to* my own finger, rather than the like should ever come again." *Ora and Juliet* (1811), vol. i., p. 195.

"How would England not be benefited, were he compelled to sit in Mr. Newman's shop, and sew fur *on to* satin!" Shelley, *Letter* (1812), in *Nation*, vol. xlviii., p. 465.

"By putting *on to* vice the mask of virtue." Letitia M. Hawkins, *Memoirs*, etc. (1824), vol. ii., p. 22.

"The creature . . . leapt, as if by choice, *on to* the estrade of the altar." William Taylor, *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1830), vol. i., p. 63.

"Rather than lose her legacy, she hung him *on to* the window-bar." Joseph Jekyll (1830), *Correspondence* (1894), p. 256.

"He is represented as on the point of pushing his lordship *on to* the frail covering." *Westminster Review* (1833), vol. xviii., p. 221.

"Our first step off the Bible is *on to* Popery." Rev. G. S. Faber (1840), *Provincial Letters* (1844). vol. i., Preface, p. viii. Also *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 257.

"Martin mounted *on to* the roof of the building that was in peril." Cardinal Newman, *Ecclesiastical Miracles* (1842), p. 34 (ed. 1843).

"The hold he had acquired over them led to their following him *on to* sacred ground." *Id.* (1874), *Letters* (1891), vol. i., p. 153.

"He took my arm, and walked with me *on to* the stage." Charles Whitehead, *Richard Savage* (1842), vol. ii., p. 286 (ed. 1845).

"Your guilt . . . is folded, and fastened *on to* the pack-saddle." A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen* (1844), p. 246 (ed. 1849).

"Our merchant princes . . . hitch themselves *on to* the peerage." Matthew J. Higgins (1845), *Essays* (1875), p. 5.

"With trifling exception, the Israelitish nation was shut up *on to* the Continent." F. W. Newman, *History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (1847), p. 3.

"I appeared suddenly lifted *on to* higher ground." *Id.*, *Text of the Iguvine Inscriptions* (1864), Preface, p. xii.

"The army of Charles Albert has been forced back *on to* the mountains of Biela." Lord Malmesbury (1849), *Memoirs of an ex-Minister* (1884), vol. i., p. 243.

"The door . . . was . . . open *on to* it." Rev. S. G. Osborne, *Gleanings in the West of Ireland* (1850), p. 51.

"I jumped *on to* a half-broken-down wall." Laurence Oliphant, *Journey to Katmandu* (1852), p. 157.

"This would lay the ship broadside *on to* the sea, and swamp her." T. L. Peacock (1852), *Works* (1875), vol. iii., p. 361.

"The man . . . rolled the Bear *on to* the sledge." Sir G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (1859), p. 300.

"Everything cast by the sea *on to* the shore must be burned." Lady Shelley, *Shelley Memorials* (1859), p. 201. Also pp. 191, 203.

"*On to* Ararat." Charles Reade, *Eighth Commandment* 1860), p. 70.

"Dropping *on to* the deck." Rev. James Pycroft, *Agony Point* (1861), p. 319 (ed. 1862).

"She jumped *on to* the beach." George Eliot, *Romola* (1863), ch. 68.

"Public opinion has long and steadily demanded that smoking-carriages should be put *on to* every train." John Morley, *Modern Characteristics* (1866), p. 242.

"I had no need to go *on to* the balcony, or to open my window." Bp. Connop Thirlwall (1867), *Letters to a Friend* (1881), vol. ii., p 95.

"If laid on its back, it struggles *on to* its legs again." Dr. Henry Maudsley, *Body and Mind* (1870), p. 13.

"Dropping *on to* your knees on an ice staircase means simply dropping off the steps." Leslie Stephen, *Playground of Europe* (1871), p. 309.

"A good hold upon current commonplaces, and facility in applying them to practical purposes, will enable a man to climb *on to* his neighbours' shoulders, and direct them this way or that." Sir J. F. Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (1873), p. 240.

"You can lay hold *on to* the branches of the tree of life with your tails." John Ruskin (1875), *Fors Clavigera*, vol. v., p. 336.

"Mr. Gladstone bounded *on to* the floor." Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (1876), p. 580 (ed. 1889).

"The nave stuck *on to* the Norman tower." E. A. Freeman (1878), in *Life and Letters* (1895), vol. ii., p. 167.

"He was first stunned by a blow on the head, and thrown *on to* the straw." Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth* (1880), vol. ii., p. 292. Also vol. i., p. 40.

On to is employed very freely by Sir G. W. Dasent, George Eliot, Charles Reade, John Morley, Leslie Stephen, and Dr. H. Maudsley, and freely by F. W. Newman and Laurence Oliphant. Other authorities for it, not named above, are Bentham, De Quincey, Dickens, Thackeray, Henry Crabb Robinson, Carlyle, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, etc.; but my references to them are too vague to be helpful. John Pickering, in his *Vocabulary*, cites William Marshall, a writer of the last century, for both *on to* and *onto*.

Prof. Adams S. Hill, in his *Foundations of Rhetoric*, lays it down that "good use [usage], at any rate, does not support either *on to* or *onto*." It must be manifest, however, from what has now been set forth, that no one is warranted in regarding it as an expression to be carefully shunned. Without doubt it will belong to the standard English of the future.

Coleridge, in his *Friend*—vol. iii., p. 231, ed. 1818—has: "The periods, too, *join on to* each other." Here, as in "he *went on to* New York," *to* goes with the verb preceding it. Again, the Rev. Prof. John Earle—in his *Philology of the English Tongue*, 1871, p. 316—has: "They have *added* the -en plural-form *on to* an elder plural." In this sentence, also, I take it, there is no compound preposition, any more than there is in "a shed was *added on to* the barn," but an adverbial complement, with a preposition subjoined.

In the *Paston Letters* we find, in place of *unto, on to;* in Capgrave, well nigh in every other page, *onto* or *on to*, but generally the first; and, in the *Ludus Coventriae*, *onto*. All these works are of the fifteenth century. In America, it looks as if *onto* were gaining favor gradually; it is certainly preferable, on grounds of analogy, to *on to*. Moreover, as *up on*, if put for *upon*, would be misleading; so may be *on to* for *onto*. F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, March 16, 1900.

P. S.—Some cases where *on to* is not prepositional are given below:

"The women will . . . *hang on to* the steps of the Sheriff's car." Rev. and Hon. S. G. Osborne, *Gleanings in the West of Ireland* (1850), p. 27.

"We see his principles fitted *on to* his own experience." Rev. R. W. Church, in *Oxford Essays* (1857), p. 253.

"He pats him on the back . . . for hanging *on to* blocks of ice." *Saturday Review* (1858), vol. vi., p. 612.

"It bores him to have to untie that wonderful piece of patchwork to fit it *on to* yours." Bernard Cracroft, *Essays*, etc. (1868), vol. i., p. 269.

Notes.

The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, have in preparation a complete and uniform reissue of the works of James Whitcomb Riley, to be known as "The Greenfield Edition"; an entirely new edition of Shakspere, edited by Edward Dowden, beginning with "Hamlet"; and 'American Fungi,' by Charles McIlvaine, copiously illustrated in color and in pen-and-ink.

The exact title of Prof. W. H. Crawshaw's work forthcoming from Macmillan Co. is 'Literary Interpretation of Life.' The same firm will publish immediately 'Doctrine and Doctrinal Disruption,' by W. H. Mallock.

L. C. Page & Co., Boston, will bring out at once twelve new volumes in their "Court Memoir Series," completing the set of twenty. Mme. Campan's 'Memoirs of Marie Antoinette,' in two volumes, heads the new list.

Ten years ago we noticed in these columns Mr. George Edward Woodberry's 'Studies in Letters and Life,' and called attention to the rare quality and permanent value of his work. In the volume just issued by the Macmillan Co., entitled 'Makers of Literature,' these earlier essays are reprinted with the omission of that "On the Promise of Keats" and the remarks on Italian Renaissance Literature which closed the "Illustrations of Idealism." The new volume comprises, in addition to this earlier nucleus, with its mention of Landor, Crabbe, Shelley, Byron, and Browning, more recent papers on Matthew Arnold, Coleridge, Lamb, Aubrey de Vere, Whittier, Lowell; and two new sketches discussing aspects of Shelley's life and genius. This roll almost completes the list of the great figures in English literature of the passing century. The special work of each and its relative value are here analyzed and weighed by the sure hand of a master in his craft. There are so

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many amateurs in criticism—so many called and so few chosen—that it is a service to students of the best in literature to commend to them the ideas and the guidance of these remarkable appreciations. They are examples of the broad and diverse range of equipment which the true critic must possess—the natural gift, the wide and delicate sympathy, the knowledge of literatures and systems of thought, the firm grasp of definite and fundamental principles, vivified and illumined, if possible, by the poet's insight and his divination of the heart of man. These gifts and acquirements, together with the graces of a finished style, Mr. Woodberry does certainly display. It is not too much to say that as a critic he is, on our side of the ocean, the legitimate heir of James Russell Lowell—to all appearance, in fact, his sole inheritor at the present day.

'Harper's Guide to Paris and the Exposition of 1900' is of a very practical cast, embracing a Paris Dictionary, occasional phrases for conversation, and other useful features in addition to a description of the Exposition itself. The illustrations, though mostly familiar, partly relate to the great show, as in the case of the new Alexander III. bridge. A sufficient folded map of the city is attached to the cover. The compact volume slips readily into the pocket.

In 'A Russian Province of the North,' by Alexander Platonovitch Engelhardt, Governor of the Province of Archangel, translated by H. Cooke (Lippincott), we get rather an interesting glimpse of life and conditions in a region seldom visited by the ordinary traveller. One hardly thinks of the huge district of Archangel (a good deal larger than Texas), with its barren soil and long winters, as a particularly attractive dwelling-place. Mr. Engelhardt does not attempt to make it out a paradise, but he does describe the rich resources of his northern realm, he tells what is being done and what remains to be done, writing of the country and people in a simple, unaffected way that almost makes one share his kindly enthusiasm. After all, life even so far north can afford plenty of interest for those who have their homes there, for their energetic Governor, and also for those who read his book.

Miss Wormeley's translation of Balzac's 'Lettres à l'Étrangère' forms an interesting addition to Messrs. Hardy, Pratt & Co.'s now well-known series, and serves in many passages as a suggestive commentary for the study of the development of the "Comédie Humaine." From the purely biographical point of view, this volume naturally rouses curiosity as to the ante-conjugal relations of the great novelist and Mme. de Hanska, concerning which, however, the translator admits no manner of doubt. Assuming *a priori* that these were strictly unexceptionable, she disposes of a group of somewhat compromising letters by declaring them to have been unscrupulously garbled in order to satisfy an unholy taste for scandal. We need hardly remark that until the originals are produced, all inferences as to spuriousness, based on tone and style, remain entirely conjectural. But charges implying that any liberties have been taken with the text of Balzac might well be kept *in petto* by editors and publishers who collaborate in a collection which, as the prospectus declares, "can be placed in the library and read by the whole family."

The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, left an unfinished 'Study of the Apocalypse' which has now been published by his daughter in a volume that, in its external appearance, forms a fitting memorial of the author (Macmillan). Its contents are remarkable, since they are modest in tone, sane in interpretation, and strongly individual, rather than churchly, in application.

For the comparative study of the Gospels a valuable help is furnished by an edition of 'The Gospel according to St. Luke,' issued by the Vice-President of Queen's College, Cambridge, the Rev. Arthur Wright (Macmillan). It is not designed for purposes of textual criticism, nor does it include any comments; the arrangement is solely for what is legitimately termed "the higher criticism" of the Synoptic Gospels. Hence the parallel matter is printed with the text of Luke.

We are glad to receive the evidence that the French "Poole" has got upon a solid footing in the second issue, for 1898 ('Répertoire Bibliographique des Principales Revues Françaises'), still edited by D. Jordell, and published in Paris by the Librairie Nilsson (New York: Lemcke & Buechner). We noticed the original issue in November, 1898. The present is larger by some seventy pages, and no wonder, in view of the increase in the number of periodicals indexed, whose titles fill five and a quarter pages, as against three. (We observe a corresponding increase in the list of periodicals founded in 1898—15 as against 9 in 1897.) The same system is observed as in the beginning, first a subject-index, followed by an author-index; and the only innovation, a most excellent one, is a repetition (in a detachable appendix on colored paper) of the periodicals indexed, with addition of editor's name and address, frequency of issue, price per number and to subscribers.

What would seem to be a favorable prognostic of a future "bridging of the social chasm" in Germany is the successful operation of common schools for children from all the different strata of society. To be sure, the custom is as yet far from universal, and it is more common in the south than in the north of the fatherland. The city of Augsburg, for instance, is proud of its genuine folk school, on whose benches the children, boys and girls, of the nobility, the highest state officials and army officers, and of rich manufacturers and merchants, sit side by side with those of the plain mechanic and poor laborer; and a city councillor, quoted by the *Pädagogische Zeitung*, asserts that any attempt to change the existing conditions would be thwarted by the sound common sense of the Augsburg citizens. This growing tendency of making class distinctions less marked in the earlier school life of the youth of Germany may reasonably be expected to produce, in the course of time, a salutary conciliating effect.

The *Annales de Géographie* for March contains an historical and statistical account of the production of silk throughout the world. The total annual value of the crop is estimated at $160,000,000; those of China and Japan being respectively sixty and fifty millions. Should the increase of the last forty years continue, Japan will soon be the largest silk-producing country in the world. An Augustine missionary introduced the industry into the Philippines at the end of the last century. One species of mulberry proved to be so adapted to the soil and climate that it was called the Philippine mulberry, but, after a brief period of success, the industry ceased, mainly because the Tagals found no market for their cocoons. Unsuccessful attempts were made to grow silk in this country sixty years ago, the failure being attributed to the lack of laborers sufficiently "patient, attentive, and careful." A map of the world, with insets of the principal silk-producing regions, accompanies the article. Topographical descriptions are given of the Tian Shan district of Russian Turkestan, the Algerian oasis of Wargla, and the Ivory Coast.

Consular Reports for March contains a review of commercial and industrial affairs in eastern Siberia, including a notice of an exposition at Khabarovsk, the first ever held in the Amur region; of the progress of the Mantchurian Railway (the line is completed from Mukden to Port Arthur), and the opening of the Institute of Eastern Languages, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, at Vladivostok. The professor of English is an American citizen, Mr. Lugobil. The Russian migration to eastern Siberia in the seventeen years ending with 1898 was in round numbers 1,150,000. An encouraging report is given of the public improvements in Siam. Thirty-five years ago there were no streets in Bangkok, traffic being carried on wholly by boat; to-day there are over forty-seven miles of paved streets, while "the king himself builds one steel bridge each year, out of his private funds, as a gift to the city, and this is opened to the public with some ceremony on his birthday." A large tract of land which ten years ago was swamp and jungle, the haunt of elephants and other wild animals, has been irrigated, and is now "occupied by over 70,000 people, and its product furnishes one of the richest revenues of the country." Encouraged by this success, the king is considering an extensive canal programme for the development of the thousands of miles of rich land, now waste, and, it is said, has sent to Holland for expert engineers. We remark finally a description of the Mutual Aid Societies for French school-children. Two cents are deposited each week, one going to a sickness fund, the other to the pension for old age. "For every child who contributes during an entire year the state adds one franc to the common fund. It also gives a sum equal to one-fourth of the entire amount deposited by the children." The limit of the old-age pension is $69.48 annually.

"The Freshwater Tertiary Formations of the Rocky Mountain Region" is the title of a paper by W. M. Davis, professor of physical geography at Harvard University, published in a late number of the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The lacustrine origin of these formations has been so generally accepted that it has held a place in the geological history of the Rocky Mountain region as an established doctrine, and the tertiary lakes of this district have become stock subjects of geological teaching. Their existence has been asserted without qualification by Dana, Leconte, Geikie, and others, and students have been led to imagine vast sheets of water, scores or hundreds of miles across, well deserving the name of "seas" often given to them in various reports. A study of

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recorded observations has led Prof. Davis to consider the probability that a large share of the so-called lacustrine formations may really be of fluviatile or other subaerial origin. He points out that, while river deposits and lake deposits are similar in many respects, the marginal parts of a fluviatile deposit may be characterized by variations of texture and structure, and occasionally by filled channels and lateral unconformities. The author, however, states that the object of his paper is to promote discussion rather than to announce conclusions, and he does not undertake to decide the points mooted.

Under authority from the Director of the Marine Biological Laboratory, Dr. C. O. Whitman, the Association for Maintaining the American Women's Table at the Zoological Station at Naples offers for the summer of 1900 the free use of an investigator's table at the Wood's Holl Laboratory to any applicant who is eligible for the Naples table, and who may desire to secure the benefit of preliminary work at Wood's Holl before making her application for the Naples Station. Applications for the Wood's Holl table, as well as for the Naples table, should be made before May 1 to the Secretary of the association, Miss Florence M. Cushing, No. 8 Walnut Street, Boston, Mass., by whom circulars will be sent on application.

The Justin Winsor prize of $100, offered by the American Historical Association for the encouragement of less well-known writers, will be awarded for the year 1900 to the best unpublished monographic work based upon original investigation in American history that shall be submitted to the committee of award on or before October 1, 1900. If not typewritten, the work must be written legibly upon only one side of the sheet, and must be in form ready for publication. In making the award, the committee will take into consideration, not only research and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence. The successful essay will be published by the American Historical Association. Prof. Charles M. Andrews of Bryn Mawr is chairman of the committee.

It is proposed to found at the University of Pennsylvania a memorial chair associated with the name of the late Dr. Daniel Garrison Brinton, whose valuable library was given by him to the University shortly before his death. The sum of fifty thousand dollars is sought from private sources, as will be explained on application to the Brinton Memorial Committee, No. 44 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.

Count Angelo De Gubernatis completed on April 7 his sixtieth year, and, having rounded out also forty years of literary productivity from his first youthful output, the drama "Werner," a jubilee commemoration took place, participated in by scholars and by women of the peninsula. Albums, gold and bronze medals, an anthology, are some of the forms in which the movement found expression. It is announced that De Gubernatis's final labor (and a vast one) will be a 'Biblioteca letteraria femminile italiana,' or a biographical and bibliographical account of the activity of Italian female writers from the earliest period to the present day.

—The opening article in *Harper's* for April is on municipal art by Charles H. Caffin, with illustrations by L. A. Shafer. Mr. Caffin traces the present development of municipal-art societies to "a principle of much earlier inception," of which he finds the germ in the "Laurel Hill Association" founded in 1853 in Stockbridge, Mass. "Consciously or unconsciously," the establishment of the Fairmount Park Art Association of Philadelphia in 1871 was "an extension of the same principle to the wider scope of a city." Now we have the Municipal Art Society of New York, founded in 1893, and the Municipal Art Society of Cincinnati, organized in 1894. Strangely enough, however, "the greatest progress has been made in Boston," where no association exists at all. This is because Boston not only is naturally æsthetic, but has a considerable fund of what is now called "civism" to draw on; hence the finest park system in the world, the Public Library, reaching the highest "artistic standard," the restoration of the Bulfinch State House, and the promised mural paintings; hence, too, the Shaw memorial, and the salvation of Copley Square from a sky-scraper. In New York—but we forbear. Mr. Caffin would have municipal control exercised in limiting the height of buildings; would have arcades here and there; and would encourage the planting of trees, and make everything beautiful, including newspaper-stalls. He very justly observes that it is not, for the present, to be expected or desired that the work of beautification should be undertaken, with us, by the municipal authorities. We would not intrust it even to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, in "A Successful Colonial Experiment," gives an account of Hong Kong, with illustrations by R. Caton Woodville. Mr. Bigelow thinks that "the problem which Great Britain has solved at Hong Kong has much in common with what confronts us in Manila"; but we are certainly not employing the same means in the Philippines. Hong Kong was made a great free port and Chinese commercial paradise by means of free trade and a good consular and administrative system. Mr. Bigelow makes no mention of an army of 50,000 men, or tramp consuls, ever having been tried. " A sailor ashore" is proverbially in great danger of going astray; this reflection is suggested by Capt. Mahan's extraordinary "Problem of Asia," which is evidently to appear soon in the form of a book. We can make nothing of it, except that Russia has a centre and two flanks, many thousands of miles apart, and that it is best to make a flank rather than a frontal attack upon her—in which we cordially agree; but Napoleon found this out long ago.

—The *Atlantic* has an interesting paper on "The Consular Service of the United States," by George F. Parker. Mr. Parker calls attention, among other things, to "something which threatens to become an intolerable nuisance"—the monthly issue of *Consular Reports*. The painful fact about the information contained in these reports as to trade and industry, he says, is that no one goes to them for information about the matters to which they relate. There are better sources; then why keep them up? Mainly, it would appear, to provide Government literature for the back districts. Mr. Parker says that in the twenty-two years during which these reports have been accumulating "it would be difficult to recall one report of really undoubted economic value." Nor will there be any as long as consuls are mainly trained in the art of "holding on to a job." Indeed, we are inclined to think that, even with a reformed consular service, these reports would be of little value so long as a consul is, as with us, a mere official clerk, instead of being, as he is in the case of many other countries, a man of business, and consequently skilled in business questions. Mr. Parker points out incidentally that many of our most distinguished consuls abroad have done some excellent writing, but that neither Howells, nor Hawthorne, nor Burritt, nor Bret Harte—to mention a few of the most conspicuous—ever made or attempted to make a reputation as economical statisticians. The old-fashioned American mercantile consul is as extinct as the Dodo. "One of the Guild," who writes on "The Perplexities of a College President," has no doubt good reasons for concealing his identity. We regret the suppression of it. His main idea seems to be that a university should be managed as nearly like a railroad as possible, strangely overlooking the fact that one of the crying evils of the day is the production of college presidents who subordinate the interests of learning to those merely material. The article is conceived in the spirit and couched in the style of the educational drummer—already too much with us. Henry James has a fantastic story called "Maud-Evelyn," and John Buchan contributes a paper (with the strange title, "A Comic Chesterfield") on the Earl of Buchan. If Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson has a foible it is that of knowing too much about the future. His article on "The Political Horizon" is of that anticipatory character which is so apt to look prophetic until "you know." The political horizon has already changed since he wrote this article.

—In *Scribner's* the most solid article is a short review of Ruskin by W. C. Brownell, who thinks that "to the preponderance of his emotional over his intellectual side" are attributable "the two great defects which imperil his position as an English classic, namely, the lack of substance in his matter and the lack of form in his style." Ruskin, like Carlyle, is unfortunate in having outlived his period. Not only are they dead themselves, but most of those who knew what it was to derive inspiration from them are dead, too. To Mr. Brownell, who in this is representative of the modern turn of thought, Ruskin is evidently antipathetic—an emotionalist, a sentimentalist, in an age in which the "higher reaches" are "unsatisfactory if they are pervaded merely or chiefly by emotion." It is an almost inevitable consequence of this view that Ruskin did not really either know or like art, and that he was a sort of emotional and dithyrambic oracle of nature. He ought, that is, to have been a poet, and he ought never to have undertaken æsthetic criticism at all. Mr. H. J. Whigham's account of the extraordinary battle of Magersfontein is interesting, especially as be confirms the worst that has been said to the discredit of the generalship on the English side. "As for the night assault at Magersfontein, one can hardly now

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speak of it with calmness." After describing the nature of the position attacked, he says: "Against such a position on such a night, one can only say that the idea of a night attack was the outcome of one of those strange mental aberrations which do at times assail even our best generals." And again: "The hardest part of all is, that the brigade was committed to the assault against the better judgment of Gen. Wauchope, who would never willingly have embarked on so rash a venture. His death, with a word of protest on his lips, was the most tragic feature of a tragic day."

—The importance attached in the magazines to studies of animal life seems to be on the increase. The *Century's* leading article is called "The Dulce-Piji Family—A Study of Marmosets," by Justine Ingersoll. It has pictures from life by Charles R. Knight. The writer admits that acquaintances to whom she relates what she knows of marmosets accuse her of drawing on her imagination for her facts. There is in this paper an account of an unselfish marmoset aunt (by adoption) which imputes to her all the best qualities of the aunt of the human species. "Fashionable Paris" gives Mr. Richard Whiteing an opportunity of saying several clever things about a little-known world. He insists that fashionable Paris must not be confounded with aristocratic Paris. "The two things are separate and distinct. Fashion has outgrown its old bounds of the old families; and aristocracy, as a governing force, has become a mere survival of habit. The two aristocracies, the old and the new, the Legitimist and the Bonapartist—not to speak of the Orleanist, as shoddy as the last—are mutually destructive. As they cannot agree to revere one another, they have helped the crowd to despise them all." Of country-house life he says: "The country-house life is highly developed, only less so than in England; and there is everything but liberty." In Dr. Barry O'Meara's resurrected record of "Talks with Napoleon," "General Bonaparte" has his revenge, after many years, on Sir Hudson Lowe, in a way that might please the soul of the deposed Emperor even in the shades. Forsyth, in his defence of the English Governor of St. Helena, written after O'Meara's death, noticed a remarkable passage in the latter's book, 'A Voice from St. Helena,' and interpreted it as meaning that Sir Hudson invited Dr. O'Meara to make him a false report to the effect that Napoleon's health was giving way, in order to prepare the world for his death, which should then be insured by proper medical treatment. Now we have the original entry, which bears out the interpretation. According to the editor of the *Century*, the entry was made when O'Meara was still on good terms with the Governor. It can hardly be said that the original entry corroborates the subsequently published passage in the book, for the latter was copied from the former; but the implication is that it is of higher value as a contemporaneous entry made by an impartial chronicler. "The Industrial Revolution of the Power Tool" is the rather misleading title of an article by Charles Barnard on the transmission of power (pneumatic, hydraulic, or electric), which enables the modern tool to be applied to its work in place. This, the writer thinks, will lead to great results, not merely industrial, but social. In a modern machine-shop, for instance, when electric motors are attached directly to each tool, shaftings, dust, smoke, and bad odors all disappear, and the working-place becomes a fine, light, clean, wholesome hall, in which, if the workman is not content, it is his own fault.

—The Bibliographical Society of London has already done much good work in a quiet way. Its publications do not often reach the general public, but that is because they are the sort of publications in which the general public takes no interest whatever; the reason, indeed, why there is need of a society to undertake them. The last volume, just issued to members, is 'A List of English Plays Written before 1643 and Printed before 1700,' by Mr. Walter Wilson Greg. Its chief interest is, of course, bibliographical, but it is also an astounding proof of the Englishman's love of the theatre during the days of the Tudors and Stuarts—a love which the Puritans only suppressed, but could not destroy. The list is so full, such an invaluable aid to any student of the drama, that it is almost to be regretted its compiler could not have included all the "reprints of plays by the more popular authors, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson," even had his doing so necessitated a second volume. They "became so numerous towards the end of the century," he explains, "and are at the same time so unimportant, that it would merely have been waste of space to have included them." But by this saving of space the Bibliography has lost something in value. However, there is no question that Mr. Greg has done what he undertook to do as thoroughly as possible. If he has left out also works which remained in MS. after the end of the seventeenth century, and all the masques and performances of the kind that were so immensely in vogue before the Civil Wars, it is because with these, he announces, he intends to deal separately. But the list, so far as it goes, is the result of scholarly and exhaustive study and research. The British Museum press-marks are given, as the greater number of editions are in that library. An Index of Authors and an Index of Plays are added. Nothing could be more complete. Any account of the theatre of this period must recall Pepys so vividly, with his struggles not to go to the play-house, his vows to stay away, and his shuffling evasion of them; that it is amusing to find in the Addenda a special entry of Heywood's "Play of Love," of which Mr. Greg says he had just discovered a perfect copy of an unrecorded edition among the books Pepys left to Magdalene College. The full title alone would have recommended the play to Pepys: "A Play of Love, a newe and mery interlude concerning pleasure and payne in love." No man, according to his own account, was merrier than Pepys, and we have a graphic enough record of his pleasure and pain as a lover. Bibliographies may be dry reading, but there is plenty of romance and of comedy, too, between the lines.

—The announcement, conveyed in a telegram from New Zealand, that Borchgrevink, the Antarctic explorer and leader of the expedition organized by Sir George Newnes for the attainment of the "farthest south," had been successful in relocating the south magnetic pole and attaining the position, by sledge journey, of 78° 50′ south latitude, opens up a new chapter in the exploration of the south polar regions. The exploit is, in fact, the "record" in Antarctic work, since it surpasses by nearly fifty miles the goal reached by Sir James Clark Ross in 1842 (78° 10′), to which no nearer approach than 300 miles has been made during nearly sixty years. Weddell, southwards from South Georgia, penetrated in 1823 to 74° 15′ S. Ross's remarkable achievement is the more impressive when it is recalled that the vessels at his service were sailing craft, and not the best of their kind; yet with these he succeeded in thrice breaking through the great Antarctic pack, and forcing a passage where few adventurous navigators would feel disposed to follow to-day. Borchgrevink's success stands out prominently beside the work of the Belgian expedition of 1897-'98, under command of Lieut. Gerlache, which, beyond rectifying some not very important coast-lines and passing a dreary winter beyond the Antarctic circle, appears to have accomplished little. By misdirection its course was deflected southwestward along the coast of Alexander Island (Land), instead of continuing southward in the path of Weddell, east of Graham Land (Island). The farthest point attained by it was 71° 36′ S., hardly half a degree nearer to the pole than was reached by Capt. Cook, in nearly the same spot, a century and a quarter earlier. The details of Borchgrevink's explorations will be awaited with much interest, since they pertain to a region which, as stated by Sir John Murray, is "by far the largest absolutely unknown area now remaining on the earth." This area has been roughly computed to measure nearly 4,000,000 square miles, or a third more than the area of Australia.

BOOKS ON THE ANGLO-BOER CONFLICT.

The Transvaal from Within: A Private Record of Public Affairs. By J. P. Fitzpatrick. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1899.

The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects. By J. A. Hobson. Macmillan Co. 1900.

The Anglo-Boer Conflict: Its History and Causes. By Alleyne Ireland. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1900.

The Story of the Boers, Narrated by Their Own Leaders. Prepared under the authority of the South African Republics by C. W. Van der Hoogt. Preceded by The Policy of Mediation, by Montagu White. Harper & Brothers. 1900.

The Africanders: A Century of Dutch-English Feud in South Africa. By LeRoy Hooker. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 1900.

From Cape Town to Ladysmith: An Unfinished Record of the South-African War. By G. W. Steevens. Edited by Vernon Blackburn. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1900.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, who was a member of the Johannesburg "Reform Committee" of 1896, and who lay for some time after the Raid in that particularly filthy jail at Pretoria, is as well qualified as any one to state the Uitlanders' cause. He does so at length, fortifying his charges with correspondence, documents, and reports, printed *in extenso;* but his English is lively, and his narrative is neither tiresome nor superficial. He makes out his case temperately, courteous-

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ly, and, so far as his statement of it goes, convincingly. The partisan on either side, nevertheless, sees the same picture differently. To Mr. Fitzpatrick, the execution of the burghers at Slagter's Nek and the harsh treatment of Bezuidenhout are only deplorable affairs. That is, he estimates them coolly, as isolated human transactions. By the Boers, on the contrary, these wrongs, committed by individuals upon other individuals—neither of great account in the world's history—have been accepted as national grievances. The victims of Slagter's Nek are to them what the dead of the Boston Massacre were to us; and no history can justly ignore it. On the other hand, the murder of Capt. Elliot by the Boers while under safe-conduct is equally charged by the British to the discredit of the Transvaal, while the Boers doubtless dismiss it as a "regrettable incident."

In his account of the Raid, which he justifies in its conception as an aid to a Johannesburg uprising, Mr. Fitzpatrick is manifestly the partisan—not suppressing Cecil Rhodes's financial connection with it, but omitting any substantial relation of its more sordid features. For instance, he airily dismisses the dispatch-box of Major Robert White, whose contents so humiliated England, as "a veritable conjurer's hat, from which Mr. Krüger produced to an admiring and astonished world the political equivalents of eggs and goldfish, pigeons and white mice." These citations are fair instances of the party historian's faults of vision. The last is a good example of his lively style.

His narrative begins with the Great Trek of 1837, the northward emigration of the Boers, occasioned in part by the abolition of slavery at the Cape, the virtual confiscation of slave-property, the harsh administration of the law; and, in part, by the blundering of British colonial administrators. From this epoch he skips to the year 1877, when the South African Republic was bankrupt within and threatened by the Zulus from without. "I had rather," said President Burgers to the Raad, "be a policeman under a strong government than the President of such a state," as "degenerate" as Turkey, and, like her, calling for outside intervention. With the approval of the President and on the petition of many burghers, the British Commissioner, Shepstone, annexed the Republic. At first the act was not only acquiesced in but popular.

"The real mistakes of the British Government began *after* annexation. The failure to fulfil promises; the deviations from old ways of government; the appointment of unsuitable officials who did not understand the people or their language; the neglect to convene the Volksraad or to hold fresh elections, as definitely promised; the establishment of military rule by military men, who treated the Boers with harshness and contempt, and would make no allowance for their simple, old-fashioned ways, their deep-seated prejudices, and, if you like, their stupid opposition to modern ideas. . . . With the revival of trade and the removal of responsibilities and burdens, came time to think and talk. . . . The eaten bread was forgotten, . . . and so the men who had remained passive and recorded formal protests when they should have resisted, . . . began their Repeal agitation. All the benefits which the Boers hoped from the annexation had been reaped. Their debts had been paid; their trade and credit restored; their enemies were being dealt with. Repeal would rob them of none of these; they would, in fact, eat their cake and still have it" (pp. 24-5).

The war that ensued closed with the mortifying defeat of the British at Majuba Hill, and their withdrawal from the Transvaal, except as their authority was maintained by the disputed "suzerainty" provisions of the Pretoria and London conventions. A very intelligent comparison of the arguments on both sides of this question, given in Mr. Alleyne Ireland's book, would seem to favor the English theory that the admitted reservation to England of the right to veto all treaties made by the South African Republic, deprived it of the chief attribute of a sovereign state.

Mr. Gladstone's action in 1881 was characteristic of his tendency to turn to the right-about, when moved by strong impulse. In this instance, he abandoned the English loyalists in the Transvaal, whom he had lately assured of his support, saying that, whether or not the annexation was wrong, "that would not warrant us in doing fresh, distinct, and separate wrong by a disregard of the obligation which that annexation entailed." His action was greeted with scorn by the English and contempt by the Cape Dutch, who regarded it as a concession to force; and, by encouraging the latter to persist in local misgovernment and maltreatment of the former, kept alive the grudge that is now being bloodily settled.

On the erection of the South African Republic, after the separation, in 1882, Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Krüger was elected President, and has since held this office continuously. The political history of his country could not be much more absorbed in his own were he the Grand Monarque. As Mr. Fitzpatrick draws his portrait, it is not attractive. He is a sort of vulgar Bismarck—or (to speak more aptly) Mark Hanna—of the veldt, with a taint of personal corruption about him that never clung to the German, and a physical courage and blunt wit not commonly attributed to the Ohioan; a statesman *manqué*, perhaps, but an uncommonly shrewd and forceful Boss. In his youth he was a raider into the Orange Free State after the manner of Jameson; in middle life, a civil servant under British rule, whom a refusal of increased salary drove into the opposition (*fide* Mr. Fitzpatrick). In his old age he has become a furious chauvinist, seeking to maintain a Dutch oligarchy within his so-called Republic; aggrandizing it at the expense of neighboring tribes; and, long prior to the Raid, in the British belief, arming and plotting for the overthrow of their supremacy in South Africa.

The discovery of the Witwatersrand gold fields in 1886 at once made the supremacy worth contending for and gave him funds to work with. In 1885 the revenues of the Republic were £177,877. In 1895, just before the Raid, they had risen to £3,912,095. For the year 1898 they were £4,087,852. The expenditures kept equal pace with the revenues; and, as very little went for education, sanitation, or public works, it may be guessed how the Cruesot guns lately about Ladysmith were acquired. With the opening of the gold fields came the influx of the Uitlanders, and with them the recrudescence of race trouble. Something like this we might have had ourselves had the immigrant been to us never anything else but an "alien," outnumbering us in the land; possessing most of the wealth, by superior industry; paying most of the taxes—but having no voice in the government. The Uitlanders, according to Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose story differs little from Prof. Ramsay's, Mr. Hammond's, and others', found a sort of Dutch Tammany in the land, who kept the franchise in their own hands, partly by law, and partly by what we should call "tinkering with the charter" and "fixing" the registration of voters. By this means, railway transportation was limited to lines charging exorbitant rates for the benefit of the "ring." The manufacture and importation of dynamite was its monopoly, and it fattened on an illicit liquor trade with the natives, unlawful preëmptions of land, fraudulent contracts, sinecures, and other corruption, even going beyond the common cheats known to our baser politics by unseating just judges and enacting retroactive laws. Incidentally the civil government was everywhere inefficient, antiquated, and unbearable; and petitions, mass-meetings, and remonstrances went for nothing.

This was a bad state of affairs. The error of the Uitlanders lay in trying to cure it by violence. The wrongs they were suffering were mostly against property. The shooting of the man Edgar is an almost solitary offence against personal liberty; and even in his case the facts are disputed. Had the Uitlanders persisted in peaceful agitation they would ultimately, perhaps, many years hence, have succeeded. They tried to hasten nature, and they are now suffering more from the convulsion they have brought on than they did from the ague they sought to cure. Had the Johannesburgers risen in unaided and successful revolution, they would have met with almost universal approval. By their bringing in Jameson and his troops they brought on themselves equally general condemnation, and, moreover, by this outrage on the Transvaal, gave the Boers a retrospective sanction for all their long abuse of power. It is the Jameson Raid that still hampers British policy, through the cleavage it made in British public opinion.

Yet Krüger and his government of oppression and corruption existed before the Raid; and after it they were worse than before. Nothing could have exceeded the duplicity and rapacity with which he chaffered over the lives of the Raiders and the Reformers, while his suppression of inconvenient courts of justice would have done credit to James II. As did that unfortunate ruler, when his enemies presented him with the game, he threw it away. His rôle after the Raid should have been dignity, simplicity, magnanimity. Instead, he became violent of speech, treacherous of word, harsh of action. The immense party in England that would have saved him, be chilled, alienated, and finally scattered by his declaration of war, the madness that precedes destruction. "'If a crisis should occur,'" he asked an American deputation who were seeking reforms of him, "'on which side shall I find the Americans?' The answer was, 'On the side of liberty and good government.' The President replied, 'You are all alike, tarred with the same brush: you are British in your hearts'" (p. 135).

We have taken Mr. Fitzpatrick's book as our leading text because it is the most quoted recent work on the subject, and traces the development of the present troubles over many years. Mr. Hobson's 'War in South Africa,' an even better written book, should be read in connection with it, however, as its most effective answer. This book, which has won the unstinted praise

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of Mr. Bryce, presents strong arguments touching the needlessness and destructiveness of the war. According to Mr. Hobson, there was no "Dutch conspiracy," and the conceded corruption and inefficiency of the Transvaal Government worked no sufficient hardships upon the Outlanders to make a *casus belli*. Moreover, there was no unanimity against reform among the burghers, but Joubert's liberal party nearly came to civil war with the Krügerites about it before the Raid compelled the two parties to act together. Krüger our author finds lacking in "a nice sense of honor," but more of a naïf, seventeenth-century, covenanting zealot than a crafty conspirator. Of his conduct in securing the arrest and conviction of the reformers, he says nothing, nor is there a word on the amazing induction of Judge Gregorowski from the Free State to preside at their trial, nor the subsequent degradation of the Bench and the passing of retroactive laws. So we may put Mr. Hobson's book, also, down as partisan, though its tone is not unfair. He does not like the worldly and vicious city of Johannesburg nor its mongrel population, its greedy ambitions, its lying and venal newspapers. He puts Rhodes, Chamberlain, and Milner in the category of the Beits and Barnatos. The war was forced on the Boers, he thinks, and may bring the awful catastrophe of a black invasion on the country as a sequel. In his sketch of the Afrikander Bond and its part in Cape politics, Mr. Hobson adds much that Mr. Fitzpatrick does not advert to.

Mr. Ireland's book is a companion to the little synopsis of the Dreyfus case published during its progress by the same house. Easy to slip in the pocket and to read quickly, it will no doubt be in much demand on the part of those who wish a brief digest of the matters in dispute. In the main, it follows Mr. Fitzpatrick very closely, the condensation of his bulky book being well done. It contains a bibliographical appendix.

The 'Story of the Boers,' published by authority of the South African Republics, is argumentative, rhetorical, and emotional. It states their contentions at the present writing, and their reasons for American mediation, so that they can be quickly understood, but the statement is necessarily one-sided. It is, frankly, a campaign document, and of rather exceptional power.

'The Afrikanders' is the least profound, and, in point of chronological relation, the most extended, of any of these books. The history of South Africa for the past century is told in an elementary way, also with considerable ability. This, like the foregoing, is a pro-Boer work, the Raid and the executions at Slagter's Nek being well in the foreground of the picture. Both of these two books are illustrated, but lack indexes; Mr. Hooker's has a map.

The late Mr. Steevens's last letters from the front have been collected and printed, together with his portrait and an appreciation of him by Mr. Vernon Blackburn. His youth and his talent make his untimely end a source of great regret. On the English side, perhaps no life so full of real possibilities has been lost in this war, in spite of his having chosen a style at once brilliant and bad, calculated to produce a flashlight picture on the mind, all high lights and deep shadows. Some passages in this fragmentary book are of uncommon merit—far finer than his Dreyfus story, where he was out of his element; and when the man can be seen through what he writes, he appears as a humane, impartial, and intrepid inquirer even in the face of death.

MRS. HOWE'S REMINISCENCES.

Reminiscences. 1819-1899. By Julia Ward Howe. With portraits and other illustrations. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

We have found Mrs. Howe's Reminiscences more interesting as read here continuously than when we were taking our pleasure serially in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which they first appeared. It is a very interesting picture that she makes of her early life in New York, and the more valuable because our annalists and autobiographers have so much oftener been of Boston than of New York extraction. As a growing girl, she had many educational advantages foreshadowing the culture and capacity of her maturer years. Her father was essentially a Puritan, and the daughter's life between her mother's death and his was one of stern repression; so much so that she often felt herself a prisoner, though her jailer was intent upon her good. It is hard to realize that her early home was upon Bowling Green, then a fashionable quarter, and that later her father lived quite out of town—upon the Bond Street of our time! It is evident that, after her father's death and the conventional period of mourning, the natural gayety of her disposition found such expression as was delightful to her soul, and it may not be amiss to say that there are traditions of that gayety in comparison with which Mrs. Howe's casual recollections are a painted flame. Similarly, her account of her oldest brother, Samuel Ward, the "Sam Ward" of the Washington congressional lobby, is but the faintest adumbration of the vicissitudes of his remarkable career. It is a great pity that he did not turn his literary gift to account in a veracious story of his life. So doing he might once more have rehabilitated his shattered fortunes after their last mishap.

A chapter on "Literary New York" is of such brevity as the material required. Bryant is made the founder of the *Evening Post*, which had been established for many years when he became an assistant editor. Of mistakes of this kind there are a good many in the book. Irving does not sustain his part very well as the leading actor in the literary drama, what with his inability to make the shortest speech and his ten-minute naps over his public dinners. Mrs. Howe seems less than usually perspicacious when she writes down Major Downing's Latin "E pluribus unum, sine qua non" as pure absurdity. Barring some mixing of the genders, was it not an amusing variant of Webster's "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable"? Dr. John Wakefield Francis, one of the worthies of his time, was an uncle of Mrs. Howe. She relates that one morning, about four o'clock, he found his wife wrapped in shawls reading 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' by the light of a candle. Presumably she was not given to such exercises, for he at once concluded that the book which so engrossed her must be the greatest book of the age. It was through Mrs. Howe's brother Samuel, who, after extensive travel in Europe, had returned and married a daughter of William B. Astor, that she became acquainted with Profs. Longfellow and Felton, Charles Sumner and Dr. Howe. Longfellow's friendship with her brilliant and erratic brother ended only with the poet's life.

In 1841, Sumner and Longfellow accompanied Mrs. Howe on her first visit to the Perkins Institute for the Blind, where she met Dr. Howe, who made upon her an impression of uncommon force and reserve. He was her senior by nearly twenty years. Their marriage took place in 1843, and shortly after the wedding they went to Europe, accompanied by Horace Mann, Dr. Howe's best friend, and his young wife. They saw all the famous people, from Fanny Elssler to Carlyle, who characterized Sumner as "a vera dull man." Mann, whose sense of humor was defective, found the visit to Carlyle very disappointing, but Mrs. Howe was satisfied. A story is told of Dickens, with whom the Howes dined in Forster's chambers, which leaves us to determine for ourselves whether he was considerably ill-mannered or a little irresponsible. Mrs. Howe was so indiscreet as to call her husband "darling." "Thereupon Dickens slid down to the floor, and, lying on his back, held up one of his small feet, quivering with pretended emotion. 'Did she call him "darling" '? he cried." The grave of Sir Walter Scott is fixed at Abbotsford, a slip of topographical association. A visit to Miss Edgeworth proved a pleasant one, but that to Wordsworth was one of the deadest failures imaginable. Wordsworth had lost heavily in American securities, and the conversation was rigidly confined to this subject, the whole family engaging. In Rome they met George Combe, the phrenologist, and it is inexpressibly funny to read of him and Dr. Howe, who was one of Combe's perverts, going round the great sculpture hall of the Vatican testing the heads by their theories, and finding that of the colossal Zeus quite orthodox in its proportions. Florence Nightingale is represented as getting her initiative in hospital philanthropy from Dr. Howe. There is a story current, we believe, which gives the honor to another person; but several may have contributed each a separate impulse to the making of her choice.

The transition is a delightful one from Mrs. Howe's European experiences, social and æsthetic, to her "First Years in Boston." We cannot but believe that she exaggerates the influence of Germany in the production of New England Transcendentalism. Largely indigenous, its ingrafted stocks were English (Coleridge), Scotch (Carlyle), and French (Cousin and Jouffroy) to a much greater extent than they were German. Particularly interesting are Mrs. Howe's impressions of Theodore Parker. They are a distinct addition to what has been published heretofore, and are confirmatory of the best that has been written in Theodore Parker's praise. Mrs. Howe honors herself unconsciously in so honoring the great heresiarch with her warm appreciation. It took courage for a woman in good society to go and hear him preach. One saint asked another what Mrs. Howe was expecting to get from him. "Atheism," was the answer. "Not atheism but a theism," commented Mrs. Howe. At one of Parker's Sunday evenings she met Garrison. She had an ill opinion of him, but "found him gentle and unassuming in manner, with a pleasant voice, a benevolent countenance, and a sort of glory of sin-

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cerity in his ways and words." Her husband was equally surprised and pleased to find her singing from the same hymn-book with Garrison before the company broke up. She makes the common mistake about Phillips's Lovejoy speech in Faneuil Hall—that it was his first anti-slavery speech.

Mrs. Howe met Parker in Rome in 1844, and an intimate acquaintance only increased her admiration. Her first child was born in Rome, and Parker baptized her with the usual formula. It was probably one of his last offices of this kind. In 1852 she heard his great sermon upon Daniel Webster, and lost her omnibus for South Boston, the sermon was so long. Replying to the family impatience, she said, "Let no one find fault! I have heard the greatest thing that I shall ever hear!" Of Parker's public prayer she writes that "no rite of public worship, not even the splendid Easter service in St. Peter's, Rome," impressed her so deeply.

A second visit to Europe resulted in experiences very similar to those enjoyed upon the first. Returning to Boston in 1851, she found that Sumner had been elected to the United States Senate, displacing "a popular idol." The epithet seems too strong for Winthrop, and in its connection makes us wonder if Mrs. Howe was thinking of Webster as Sumner's competitor. Moreover, she applies the same epithet directly to Webster in another place, where she is speaking of Sumner's election. Of the latter she writes with genuine admiration, but with a keen sense of his lack of humor and some other limitations. His "fiery utterances" contrasted "strongly with the usual mildness of his disposition."

There are delightful pages about the astonishing Count Gurowski, one of the most trying of all the exiles who made large demands upon the patience and the generosity of the Boston philanthropists. In 1859, Dr. and Mrs. Howe accompanied Parker on that voyage to the West Indies from which he never returned. It is a striking situation when we find Dr. Howe, on his way back, visiting Charleston, S. C., and vicinity, as the guest of the Hamptons, Gen. Wade Hampton among them. This was certainly a ticklish business, considering that Dr. Howe was at this time one of a committee of six engaging with John Brown in his enterprise for the invasion of Virginia. One would hardly gather from Mrs. Howe's account of John Brown that her husband's relation to him was so intimate.

Mrs. Howe's recollections of Gov. Andrew, James Freeman Clarke, and many others, will be found very interesting. It was Dr. Clarke who instigated her to write the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." A facsimile of the first draft of this poem is given, with many excellent portrait illustrations. In the account of Thomas Gold Appleton there is nothing that justifies his reputation for wit and humor; but there is one brutal retort of his on Samuel Longfellow which is suggestive of the truth that your thorough-paced man of the world is almost always sound in his conventional piety.

At this point the 'Reminiscences' broke off in the *Atlantic*. Here there are 170 additional pages, over which, with their recollections of "A Woman's Peace Crusade," "The Woman Suffrage Movement," "Certain Clubs," and other matters, we would gladly linger, but must not. What is certain is that Mrs. Howe has written a very pleasant book, and one that will add to the multitude of her friends wherever it is read.

Russia on the Pacific, and the Siberian Railway. By Vladimir. London: Low, Marston & Co.; New York: Scribners. 1899.

The history of Russian expansion in Asia certainly deserves study now that the rich possibilities of Siberia are beginning to obtain recognition. We therefore welcome the work before us. It well repays reading, even if we might have been spared most of the first and fourth chapters, as there are plenty of short sketches of Russian history already. Comparison is at once suggested with Krausse's 'Russia in Asia,' which appeared at about the same time. In spite of the fact that Vladimir's work is much the slighter, being based on far fewer authorities and being less comprehensive (it does not cover the Caucasus or Central Asia), besides having fewer maps and fewer documents in the appendix, it is still much the better of the two. Krausse's bulky volume is stuffed with declamation and worn-out Russophobe phrases. Every step is ascribed to Muscovite wiles and insatiable lust for dominion. Vladimir, on the other hand, though erring a little in the opposite direction of forgiving unscrupulousness when accompanied by daring, offers a clear, interesting narrative of Russian progress, which has in the main been due to perfectly simple causes. When we remember that Siberia is a huge region whose geographical features make it the natural continuation of European Russia, and that it was inhabited only by a sparse population of barbaric tribes without strength or cohesion, we can see that, from the day the Cossacks crossed the Urals (a barrier less formidable than the Alleghanies), Russian expansion to the Pacific was as obvious and inevitable as was our own from an opposite direction. The only real difficulties to be encountered were those of climate, wilderness, and huge distances. In overcoming these, the Russian pioneers showed a splendid courage and endurance that compare well with the history of exploration anywhere. When, however, we come to their dealings with China, the ethics of the case are not so clear, although not worse than our own in regard to Mexico.

Beginning with the story of the famous expedition of Yermak in 1581, the destruction of the Tartar kingdom of Sibir and the foundation of Tobolsk, we have a story of rapid advance. In little over half a century the whole continent was traversed and the Pacific reached; twelve years later, Bering Sea was discovered by Dezhneff; in 1651 Irkutsk was founded; in 1697 Kamtchatka was conquered by Atlassoff with some seventy Cossacks; then followed the occupation of Alaska, with an attempt in 1807 to found a settlement at the north of the Columbia River; in 1812 we find a colony of Russian trappers not far from San Francisco.

In the meanwhile, further to the south, more serious obstacles had been met with. When the Russian pioneers reached the Amur, they soon came into contact, then collision, with the Chinese Empire, in the vigorous early days of the present dynasty. After some thirty years of intermittent hostilities, whose most famous episode was the heroic, though unsuccessful, defence of Albasin by four hundred and fifty men against an army of 15,000 Mantchus and Chinese with numerous artillery, the peace of Nertchinsk in 1689 checked Russian progress in this direction for more than a century and a half. The forward movement did not begin again until the appearance on the scene of Muravieff in 1847. Undeterred by the smallness of his resources and by the narrow-minded jealousy and timidity of some of his superiors, he profited boldly by the weakness of China, whose actual authority in these regions had become a mere shadow. Not only did he occupy the whole right bank of the Amur to its mouth, but also, after only six days of negotiation, he gained by the treaty of Aigun in 1858 the whole maritime province west of the Ussuri, with the harbor where Vladivostock was founded two years later. It was a wonderful if unscrupulous diplomatic triumph, though we can hardly agree to Vladimir's statement that "the terms exacted by Muravieff were very moderate." Only the existence of the Tai-ping rebellion, together with the troubles with England and France and the imbecility of the Chinese authorities, can explain such a result.

The ensuing pause lasted until the war between China and Japan. Meanwhile Russian America was sold to the United States, and the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun in 1891. Vladimir gives only a slight sketch of recent events, such as the occupation of Port Arthur and Russian predominance in Mantchuria. His chapter on the Siberian railway is interesting, even if it does not contain much that cannot be found elsewhere. The last chapter of all, or "Conclusion," is a trifle dithyrambic. Its burden is, "England above any other country in the world . . . should welcome the progress of Russia." If so, so be it.

Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Arranged and edited by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D., and Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D. With portrait. London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1899.

This is the volume of Jowett's letters promised by the editors when they published the late Master's life. Such letters of general interest as could not there find a place are here published in groups determined by the main topics which successively or simultaneously engrossed Jowett's thoughts, such as Church Reform and the Abolition of Tests, various educational plans and reforms, European Politics, and the needs of India and Indian administration. To these groups is added one of letters on miscellaneous topics, and the volume closes with forty-odd pages of Notes and Sayings—not the least interesting of its features. The portrait, by Laugée, here reproduced, represents Jowett at the age of fifty-four, just after he became Master at Balliol, and is in many respects a better permanent record of him than either of the two given in his Life.

It is a result of the workmanlike fashion in which Messrs. Abbott and Campbell have dealt with Jowett's correspondence that the interest of the present letters is not biographical. We read these pages in order to get a clearly defined picture of Jowett's views on certain leading subjects of great and permanent importance. Perhaps the letters, first printed here, on the general topic of Church Reform and the Abolition of Tests come nearest to having an interest connected with his personal career. At all

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events, it is of great interest to read Jowett's categorical statement of opinion that any one may sign the Thirty-nine Articles whose opinions agree "with any of the recognized parties in the Church, whom Bishops have been in the habit of ordaining from time immemorial," and to hear from him that the same principle which ordinarily leads men to refuse to sign the Articles, would, "if carried out, destroy all common action" and "make a Church Establishment or even public worship impossible." Is a man to be deterred, he asks, from doing "what in a doubtful case seems on the whole to be right because it is to his interest"? And then he adds that "if all good men refused to sign the Articles, the Church of England would probably go on with bad ones." But his final conclusion upon this matter is that the considerations which justify the position of a liberal clergyman or Fellow of a College are not of a kind to tell with the public, and lead away from the main purposes of life into polemics and recriminations. Therefore, though the position may be tenable, "the sooner it is altered the better." Few things concerning Jowett are more characteristic or more telling than his evidence on the subject of University Tests given before the Committee of the House of Lords, and admirably summarized here on pp. 19-42.

Characteristic, no doubt, but not equally important, are Jowett's views on European Politics. As to America he was more clear-sighted, and shows, indeed, a rare perspicacity when he writes in 1865 that "the coming event of the American War is likely to produce a great change of opinion in England, something like that of the War of Independence ninety years ago." He speaks (in 1873) of England's loss of prestige over the *Alabama* claims, but declares that the country is not dissatisfied. Again, he shows a gift of prophecy when, in 1877, he writes to Sir Robert Morier: "I want you to consider the annexation of Egypt in one other point of view—its bearing on the future of Africa. Must not that 'greater India' be one day ours, and is not the colonization improvement of it a great national concern of ours? But, if so, can we afford to give up Egypt?" Jowett wished to see the higher civilization of Europe combining against the lower, whether Czar or Pope, and offering "something like paternal government to Egypt and the East." He expresses doubt whether the semi-civilized world can be much ameliorated without a good deal of bloodshed, and yet categorically foresees that "war in Africa or India may be promoted by the worst motives—greed of colonists, desire of promotion, the imperious or timorous character of the dominant race." Finally, he was struck by the responsibility incurred by civilized nations for the atrocities which they allowed to go on in countries like China and Turkey, and yet he signalizes, as one of the dangerous symptoms in English life, "the foolish half-sympathy of Liberals not looking forward to the consequences."

These views are of course ill presented by means of short extracts, and should be read *in extenso*, but it is easy to see that what is most likely to prove both interesting and profitable to Americans in this volume is the section devoted to India. There we are enabled to follow, often in some detail, the discussions, the experiments, and the half-successes which finally led to the present admirable system of selection for the Indian civil service. No quotations can be at all adequate here. Jowett's letters on India cover less than 50 pages, and well deserve the most careful reading.

Among the miscellaneous letters we glean that Tennyson reproached Jowett with not reading Dante in the original, and are glad to note what is written to Morier about the translation of Plato. "My Plato is only a translation," says Jowett, "but I have satisfaction in feeling that it may influence the English and American world in the right direction long after I am gone." With these words, which come home to every one of us more or less forcibly, and remind us of what Jowett strove to do for us, we may lay down the present volume, but not without the expectation of taking it up from time to time, and gathering from the notes and sayings of Jowett some inspiration and encouragement in the doing of whatever our task may be. He was a great admirer of Dr. Johnson, and in many of these sayings there is a Johnsonian strain, as where he says: "There is enough time to read all the books worth reading, if you can only get the *mind* for it."

Notes on Sport and Travel. By George Henry Kingsley, M.D., F.L.S., etc. With a Memoir by his daughter, Mary H. Kingsley. Macmillan. 1900.

Rather unfortunately for the reader, the Memoir occupies nearly half this book, though it is greatly mitigated by frequent quotations from the journals and some of the published works of Dr. Kingsley. George Henry Kingsley was one of the three brothers of Charles (Canon) Kingsley. Another was Henry, the author of those two good novels, 'Geoffrey Hamlyn' and 'Ravenshoe'; and it is not too much to say, from the glimpse we have of him as a writer in this book, that the Doctor was quite the equal of either of his distinguished kinsmen in felicity and power of literary expression. Very possibly he might have failed in continuous narrative, but nothing can be more charming than his letters and journals kept during his various wanderings, for most of his mature life was passed in travel, and his last voyage was one around the world for his health shortly before his death in 1892. At the age of thirty, with the Earl of Pembroke, he started on a long cruising expedition in the South Pacific, which occupied about two years, and in the course of it he visited many almost unknown island groups and savage peoples. The letters in chapters three and four devoted to these experiences are charming in novelty and in appreciative interest, *e. g.*, page 83:

"Then we went to Samoa in the Navigator Islands, where the off-shore wind was positively laden with sweet odours—whether of the orange or of some kind of Cape jessamine, I know not, but it was most rarely sweet. We were not quite so well received here, owing to the people being at war, but we drank real Kava chewed by a beautiful princess, a figure of brown loveliness, who shimmered in the rays of the setting sun like a yellow bronze statue. She was dressed solely in a most lovely mat wound with exquisite grace around her hips, the fringe below hardly hiding her dainty little feet. She wore a glorious wreath of crimson hibiscus flowers, and round her neck a double row of great crimson berries," etc.

There are stirring adventures with great fish and with cannibals in these chapters; and the indolent and easy lives of the islanders, except before meals, is described with a master hand. The transition to Canada and the Western States, where Dr. Kingsley went with the distinguished yachtsman Lord Dunraven, shows under changed conditions the same adaptability, powers of description, and love of nature. This love of nature, however, was not proof against the tendency to kill animals that could not be used, which has made some British sportsmen so obnoxious in the West. On p. 125 Dr. Kingsley says: "This elk-running is perfectly magnificent. We ride among the wild sandhills until we find a herd, and then gallop after them like maniacs until we get in the midst of them, when we shoot all we can." He states that the troopers of the American Army were "most of them Germans and Irish, but with a few deserters from our own army," but makes them talk in the dialect supposed, in England only, to be that of the American native. The Doctor's antipathy to things American in general is not at all concealed, and its expression sometimes seems rather childish, though it does not materially detract from the charm of the chapter on this country.

There are half-a-dozen republished articles from various magazines in the latter half of the book, and all are most entertaining and instructive. In "Certain Delusions of the North Britons," Dr. Kingsley shows that the philabeg or short kilt was introduced into the Highlands by an Englishman, one Thomas Rawlinson, an iron smelter, about 1728. Other popular theories as to bagpipes and broadswords are also shattered. "The Last Salmon before Close Time," "A German First of September," and "Chamois Hunting," are of interest alike to the sportsman, the naturalist, and to those who love delightful narrative and description.

Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century. By A. L. Bowley. Macmillan.

The modest sub-title of this work, "Notes for the Use of Students of Social and Economic Questions," is by no means an adequate description of its contents. Mr. Bowley has here brought together all the more general statistical results of the several investigations made by governments and individuals during the course of the present century, accompanying them by a careful estimate of their scientific value and significance; so that his book will serve the double purpose of a manual of statistical method and of a convenient repertory of valuable information. It is the more assured of a welcome since it refrains altogether from any attempt to deal with cause and effect. It limits its range to the purely arithmetical question as to the amount of wages actually paid to the several classes of workmen in the different trades at various periods. Before these figures can be interpreted in terms of comfort, several other inquiries need to be answered; most fundamental, of course, that of the purchasing power of money. But the amount of money wages is certainly the most important single element in the problem, and it is a necessary preliminary to single it out for exclusive attention.

Mr. Bowley distinguishes between two methods of handling wage statistics, which he designates respectively "statical" and "kinetic." We may, perhaps, express our

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regret, in passing, at this prevalent habit of importing into economic discussion the technical language of the physical sciences. By the former term, however, Mr. Bowley means the formation of comprehensive estimates of wages paid for particular years and the comparison of their results; by the latter, the discovery of the rate of change in wages, and the comparison of these rates period by period. He points out that the latter method is often possible where the former is not; he does not point out, what is equally true, that figures of the latter kind are of very little significance to the student of real life unless he has some sort of notion of the amount actually paid. Moreover, we do not find here any explanation of the difficult mathematical problem how to combine the rates of increase of industries big and small so as to obtain a general rate. Still, Mr. Bowley is better than his programme—which was, to follow the "kinetic" method—and he gives us great masses of figures of actual wages as well as percentages. His general conclusion, so far (for this is but a preliminary survey of the field) is, that "money wages in Great Britain in the nineties were 10 per cent. above those in the eighties, and 30 per cent. above those of the sixties." This confirms and supplements the conclusions already reached by Sir Robert Giffen and Mr. Sidney Webb.

Historic Side Lights. By Howard Payson Arnold. Illustrated with portraits, diagrams, and facsimiles. Harper & Bros. 1899. 8vo. pp. 331.

It is with shame that we avow our ignorance of the personality of Mr. Arnold. Even the latest biographical list fails to record him, and the tone of his book affords no certainty that his name is genuine or his work well-intended. There is an ill-bred flippancy about the whole performance which is not encouraging, a desperate attempt everywhere to be witty according to some juvenile standard, and a persistent imitation of Tristram Shandy and Diedrich Knickerbocker which warrants the inquiry why the book was written. Apparently the author wished to tell something about the origin of the coat-of-arms and the motto of the United States; but, having very little to say and an overpowering desire to make a book, he has ambled and rambled along, letting one word lead to another, till the reader is lost in wonder. It is evident that he is no friend of Benjamin Franklin or John Adams, and that he is especially inimical to Lord Shaftesbury, but all the jibes and jeers which he elaborately flings against them seem unnecessary and stale. The efforts at wit and repartee are feeble, and at times beneath contempt. Let us, for example, cite on p. 202 his reference to the late David Sears of Boston, whose only crime was the gratuitous distribution of a religious essay, and from p. 205 let us copy the following outrageous note:

"A prominent tailor of Boston bequeathed a large part of his fortune for the purpose of giving excursions to the descendants of those who had been impoverished by his enormous bills, in the hope that sails down the harbor and a sight of Deer Island, and trips to Mount Auburn and other popular resorts in the vicinity of the city, might enable his beneficiaries to forget for a few brief moments the wrongs they had indirectly suffered at his hands."

As the late Mr. Randidge was distinctly a fashionable tailor, and as the objects of his mode[illegible]d kindly bequest were to be specifically the poor waifs of the city to whom a trip down the harbor had been an unattainable luxury, the utter stupidity of Mr. Arnold's comment is apparent. We have selected this specimen because it is typical. Mr. Arnold writes laboriously and methodically, with a phrase-book at hand and an eye upon Sheridan's artificial epigrams, but he has not succeeded in uttering a spontaneous witticism.

We find nothing in these pages to justify the space taken by the "side lights." The subjects are trivial and have been discussed elsewhere. Every one knows that Franklin and Jefferson selected the coat-of-arms prepared by the French artist, and the motto "E pluribus unum" fell into place without much consideration or meaning. As to Lord Shaftesbury and Hercules, the information here set forth may be new, but it is trivial and not even amusing.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

American Baptist Year-Book for 1900. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Pub. Society. 25c.
Brown, Caroline. Knights in Fustian: A War-Time Story of Indiana. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Carmen Sylva. Aus Meinem Königreich. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35c.
Davis, M. E. M. The Queen's Garden. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Eaton, J. S. Railroad Operations: How to Know Them from a Study of the Accounts and Statistics. New York: The Railroad Gazette. $2.
Fitchett, W. H. How England Saved Europe: The Story of the Great War, 1793-1815. Scribners. Vol. IV. $2.
Gautier, Th. Jettatura. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30c.
Halleck, R. P. History of English Literature. American Book Co. $1.25.
Hime, Lieut.-Col. H. W. L. Lucian the Syrian Satirist. Longmans, Green & Co.
Jordell, D. Répertoire Bibliographique des Principales Revues Françaises pour l'Année 1898. Lemcke & Buechner.
Lockyer, Sir N. Inorganic Evolution as Studied by Spectrum Analysis. Macmillan. 4s.
McCunn, Prof. J. The Making of Character: Some Educational Aspects of Ethics. Macmillan. $1.25
Milton, J. Paradise Lost. Macmillan. 25c.
Rodkinson, M. L. New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud. New York: New Talmud Publishing Co. Vol. I.
Shakespeare, W. King Richard III. Cassells. 10c.
Shakespeare, W. The Taming of the Shrew. [Players' Edition.] With Introduction by Ada Rehan. Doubleday & McClure. $1.25.
Thorburn, S. S. Transgression. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.50.
Thwaites, R. G. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Vols. LXIII. and LXIV. Cleveland: The Burrows Bros. Co.
Valdés, A. P. José. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80c.
Warner, Anna B. Fresh Air. American Tract Soc. 75c.
Wells, D. A. The Theory and Practice of Taxation. Appletons. $2.
Westbrook, Rev. R. B. Man, Whence and Whither? New York: Peter Eckler. 50c.

Henry Holt & Co., 29 W. 23d St., New York.

Recent and Shortly Forthcoming Historical Works.

Seignobos's Political History of Europe Since 1814.

Translation edited by Prof. S. M. Macvane, of Harvard. xxi+881 pp. *2d Impression.* 8vo. $3.00 *net.*

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